

# Contemporary Review

incorporating THE FORTNIGHTLY

v. 195

No. 1118 FEBRUARY 1959

|   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| The International Labour Organisation . . . . .   | LORD MESTON                  |
| The Fifth Republic . . . . .                      | W. L. MIDDLETON              |
| Jacques Soustelle . . . . .                       | REX MALIK                    |
| Centenary of Roumanian Union . . . . .            | DR. V. V. TILEA., C.B.E.     |
| Kitchener . . . . .                               | G. P. GOOCH, D. LITT, F.B.A. |
| Child Rescue in Israel . . . . .                  | DR. NORMAN BENTWICH          |
| St. Dunstan and his Times . . . . .               | DERYCK ABEL                  |
| Hemingway in Spain . . . . .                      | J. P. BURY                   |
| The Effect of Soviet Propaganda . . . . .         | DR. RICHARD BERKELEY         |
| Theodore Roosevelt: A Centenary Tribute . . . . . | JOHN QUINLAN                 |
| Mendelssohn and the Arts . . . . .                | LOUISE W. LEVEN              |
| The Plight of Bulgaria . . . . .                  | DR. JOSEPH RONCEK            |
| Problems and Prospects in Mexico . . . . .        | IRENE NICHOLSON              |
| Oil States of the Persian Gulf . . . . .          | G. F. EVANS                  |
| The Poetry of Edith Sitwell . . . . .             | MERVYN D. COLES              |
| Plant Breeders . . . . .                          | A. MAURICE MOYAL             |
| La Fontaine's Debt to the East . . . . .          | B. BISSONDOYAL               |
| Silver-Birch Logs—A Poem . . . . .                | GEOFFREY JOHNSON             |

Literary Supplement—Contributors: Professor G. E. G. Catlin, Victor Cohen, James E. MacColl, M.P., Dr. Winifred Taffs, Luke Parson, The Rev. B. C. Plowright, Grace Banyard.

Price 4/- 53/- per annum. U.S.A. \$10.00

ALL CLASSES OF INSURANCE TRANSACTED

**MOTOR UNION** INSURANCE LTD.  
COMPANY L

10, ST. JAMES'S STREET, LONDON, S.W.1

# MARGINAL SEAT, 1955

by R. S. Milne and  
H. C. Mackenzie

with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler, C.H., M.P.

An analysis of voting behaviour in the  
Parliamentary Constituency of Bristol  
North-East at the General Election  
of 1955

18s. net

"... it is the best book on the subject that has  
appeared in England ..." — *The Economist*

THE HANSARD SOCIETY FOR PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

79/80 Petty France, London, S.W.1.

THE MOST IMPORTANT  
BOOK IN THE WORLD

## THE SECRET DOCTRINE

By H. P. BLAVATSKY

FOURTH EDITION

A Synthesis of SCIENCE, RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY  
from the occult point of view. Explains the occult source of  
the elements and their relation to Man. Includes details of the  
four prehistoric Continents, and the evolution of Man, pre-  
historic and historic.

In six handsome volumes. 9½" × 6½". Price £4 14s. 6d. Post-  
age inland 4s. Abroad 8s. 6d. *Theosophical Catalogue Free*

THE THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE LTD  
68 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1

## TYPEWRITERS !

ADDING, BOOK-KEEPING  
AND CALCULATING MACHINES

74 CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.2

New and Rebuilt

HIRE AND REPAIRS

**TAYLORS** HOLBORN  
3793

RECULVER LODGE, Beltinge, Herne Bay,  
Kent. A quiet Georgian mansion in an  
old world garden of 1½ acres, 200 yards  
from the sea. Ideal for conferences.  
Vegetarians catered for. (Herne Bay 750)

STUDIES IN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
Volume 1. Demy 8vo. Fully illustrated.  
Price 15s. (post 1s.)  
St. Anthony's Press, 46/47 Chancery Lane  
London, W.C.2.

# Contemporary Review

incorporating THE FORTNIGHTLY

*CONTRIBUTIONS* will be considered for publication and should be addressed to the Editor, *Contemporary Review*, 46 Chancery Lane, W.C.2, England.

*SUBSCRIPTIONS* are charged at the rate of 53s. per annum post free, or \$10.00 in the U.S. and Canada. A single copy costs 4s. (4s. 3d. including postage), \$1.00 in the U.S. and Canada. Orders may be placed with newsagents, booksellers or subscription agents, or may be sent direct with the appropriate remittance to the Circulation Manager, *Contemporary Review*, 46 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2, England.

*ADVERTISEMENTS.* Suitable advertisers' announcements are accepted for publication. Orders and advertisement copy should be received by the 15th of the month preceding the date of publication and should be addressed to the Advertisement Manager, *Contemporary Review*, 46 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2, England (Telephone Holborn 6201).

## LIST OF CONTENTS FEBRUARY 1959

|   |                              |     |
|---|------------------------------|-----|
| The International Labour Organisation . . . . .   | LORD MESTON                  | 82  |
| The Fifth Republic . . . . .                      | W. L. MIDDLETON              | 85  |
| Jacques Soustelle . . . . .                       | REX MALIK                    | 88  |
| Centenary of Roumanian Union . . . . .            | DR. V. V. TILEA., C.B.E.     | 90  |
| Kitchener . . . . .                               | G. P. GOOCH, D. LITT, F.B.A. | 92  |
| Child Rescue in Israel . . . . .                  | DR. NORMAN BENTWICH          | 96  |
| St. Dunstan and his Times . . . . .               | DERYCK ABEL                  | 98  |
| Hemingway in Spain . . . . .                      | J. P. BURY                   | 103 |
| The Effect of Soviet Propaganda . . . . .         | DR. RICHARD BERKELEY         | 105 |
| Theodore Roosevelt: A Centenary Tribute . . . . . | JOHN QUINLAN                 | 108 |
| Mendelssohn and the Arts . . . . .                | LOUISE W. LEVEN              | 110 |
| The Plight of Bulgaria . . . . .                  | DR. JOSEPH RONCEK            | 112 |
| Problems and Prospects in Mexico . . . . .        | IRENE NICHOLSON              | 115 |
| Oil States of the Persian Gulf . . . . .          | G. F. EVANS                  | 117 |
| The Poetry of Edith Sitwell . . . . .             | MERVYN D. COLES              | 120 |
| Plant Breeders . . . . .                          | A. MAURICE MOYAL             | 123 |
| La Fontaine's Debt to the East . . . . .          | B. BISSONDOYAL               | 126 |
| Silver-Birch Logs—A Poem . . . . .                | GEOFFREY JOHNSON             | 128 |

Literary Supplement—Contributors: Professor G. E. G. Catlin, Victor Cohen, James E. MacColl, M.P., Dr. Winifred Taffs, Luke Parson, The Rev. B. C. Plowright, Grace Banyard.

## CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

46-47 CHANCERY LANE . LONDON W.C.2

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

THE International Labour Organisation is a huge undertaking carrying out a colossal amount and variety of work. To discuss its constitution and activities in detail would only be perplexing, but it may be useful to explain the general structure and operations of this world wide organisation. The I.L.O. (as we shall call it for short) is an agency of 78 governments united to work for lasting peace based on social justice. It was founded in 1919 as part of the peace settlement which followed the First World War. For many years it was connected with the League of Nations. In 1946 it became the first "specialised agency" associated with the United Nations. The I.L.O. is an intergovernmental agency, but it differs from other diplomatic bodies in one important way. Its national delegations consist not only of government representatives but also of workers and employers. Each member country sends two government delegates, one employer and one worker to the I.L.O.'s Annual International Labour Conference. The employer and worker delegates are not bound to follow Government instructions and are free to disagree with their own Government's policy and with each other. As many difficult problems arise for discussion and solution at this conference, it is provided that each delegate may be accompanied by not more than two technical advisers for each item on the agenda of the conference.

The International Labour Conference is the supreme authority of the I.L.O. It meets once a year, generally at Geneva. It adopts the various conventions and recommendations, and the resolutions and reports, which deal with world standards in the labour and social field. Among other matters, it also elects the members of the I.L.O. governing body, and adopts the I.L.O. budget, which is financed by contributions of member governments. It is interesting to note that colonial observer delegates are present at this conference. They come from Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Singapore, the Federation of West Indies, Malaya and Malta. Another and less gratifying feature of the conference is the presence of some 70 members from Russia and the various territories from behind the Iron Curtain. These members from Communist countries have imported politics into the discussions of the conference with acrimonious results. The International Labour Office at Geneva is the world headquarters of the I.L.O. At the I.L.O. building about 800 officials of nearly 60 nationalities are engaged in research work, and preparing reports for discussion at I.L.O. conferences and meetings in all parts of the world. The governing body is the "executive council" of the I.L.O. It consists at the present time of 40 members. Ten seats are held permanently by the "states of chief industrial importance." These states are—The United States, The Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, the Federal German Republic, Italy, Japan, China, Canada and India. Ten elective seats are held by other countries chosen every three years. Ten seats are held by labour members elected as individuals to represent the workers of the world. Ten seats are held by employers who likewise are selected as individuals to represent management interests. Together, the conference, the governing body and the office make up the I.L.O.



As above mentioned, the headquarters staff of the I.L.O. are stationed in Geneva. A liaison office is maintained at the headquarters of the United Nations, and branch offices are maintained at Washington, London (38-39 Parliament Street, S.W.1), Montreal, Paris, Rome and New Delhi. In addition there are a number of accredited correspondents in other countries.

The I.L.O. is no believer in undue centralization. Since 1945, eight industrial committees have been set up to solve the social and economic problems peculiar to particular industries. These committees bring together the Government experts, employers and workers of a single profession or industry to consider the labour and social questions of concern to that industry. They send their conclusions to the governing body for decisions as to what actions should be taken. These committees are now organized for coal mining, textiles, construction (i.e. building, civil engineering and public works), iron and steel, the metal trades, inland transport, petroleum production and refining, and the chemical industries; and the plantations committee has recently been created, making nine committees in all. In addition, a large number of commissions and committees exist to further the work of the I.L.O. in specific fields. Amongst these, may be mentioned the committee on women's work, and the committee on occupational safety and health. A new department called labour management relations, has recently been established. This department also deals with workers' education.

The achievements of the I.L.O. since its formation can only be described as superb. The work which has been done, and is continuing every year, may be conveniently collected under three main headings. Firstly, there is the adoption of conventions and recommendations and the effect given to them by national legislation and other action. Since the I.L.O. was established, 109 conventions and about 104 recommendations have been adopted. Together, conventions and recommendations form what is known as the "International Labour Code." This covers a vast list of subjects including, among others, employment and unemployment, hours of work, holidays with pay, the employment of women, the employment of children and young persons, industrial health, safety and welfare. Secondly, there is the collection and distribution of information on labour and industrial matters. The information received is available either for use in replying to inquiries or for issue in the various publications of the office, such as the monthly "International Labour Review." Thirdly, there are the operational activities of the I.L.O. Where required the I.L.O. gives practical assistance to states members in connection with the improvement of the conditions of life and labour in their countries. These relate to such matters as employment service and manpower organisations, vocational and technical training, migration, industrial relations, industrial safety and health and social security. The methods employed by the I.L.O. in giving this assistance include advisory missions to the countries where the assistance is required, periods of instruction or study abroad for suitable candidates from the countries requiring assistance, training of staff, arrangement of special conferences of experts, and the provision of instructional material and special publications. The I.L.O. has established operational field offices in Italy, Brazil and Turkey; and an office is to be opened in Lagos in 1959. It has also been decided to

establish an African Advisory Committee to assist the I.L.O. in regard to its African policy.

At this point it may be explained that conventions and recommendations must be adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present at the International Labour Conference. Conventions must be submitted by each state member within a year (or 18 months in exceptional cases) to the competent authority—usually the Parliament—of the state with a view to adopting any necessary legislation or taking any other appropriate action. If the competent authority (e.g. the Parliament at Westminster) consent to the ratification of the convention, the state member deposits the instrument of ratification with the Director-General of the International Labour Office. A state which has ratified a convention is under an obligation to see that its own laws and practice are in accordance with it. Recommendations, like conventions, must be submitted to the competent authority with a view to the enactment of legislation or other action to implement their provisions. Ratification is not appropriate in the case of a recommendation.

In order further to appreciate the enormous achievement of the I.L.O. we may consider in a little detail some of the conventions and recommendations which have been adopted in the last 39 years. Most of these have some bearing on safety and health of workers. In 1947 the conference adopted a general convention on labour inspection in industry and commerce. It has been ratified by 30 countries. This convention was supplemented later by a recommendation on labour inspection in mining and transport undertakings.

A convention on the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea was adopted by the conference in 1921 and has been ratified by 39 countries. In 1946 the conference adopted a convention on the medical examination of seafarers which, with minor exceptions, applies to every person engaged in any capacity on board any sea going vessel other than a fishing vessel and certain small vessels. It has been ratified by 12 countries. A convention concerning safety provisions in the building industry was adopted in 1937 and has been ratified by 11 countries. Ratifying countries undertake to maintain in force laws or regulations concerning scaffolds, hoisting appliances, safety equipment and first-aid. This convention has been supplemented by three recommendations, which, among other matters, contain a model code of safety regulations. The code deals in some detail with scaffolding generally and different types of scaffolding (pole, ladder, cantilever, suspended), working platforms, gangways, runs and stairs, ladders, fencing of openings, hoisting appliances, (winches, crabs, pulleys, ropes, chains, cranes, derricks, hoists), personal protective equipment, rescue, first-aid, and other matters. The above observations only give a minute picture of the work undertaken by the I.L.O. It is indeed great work, and long may it continue.

MESTON.

## THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

GENERAL de Gaulle's broadcast of December 28 opened a new and highly critical phase of his enterprise. Up to that point he had used the almost unlimited powers conferred upon him as head of the Government last June to set up the new Constitution, to organize a French Community incorporating territories of the old colonial empire, to begin the transformation of the most diverse public institutions, as well as to take initiatives in international affairs intended to reinforce the position of France in the world.

At the end of the year he set about the essential piece of business on which the success of all these efforts depended: the creation of a stable franc and the restoration of the French economy. The framing of the French budget for 1959 was the basis of his action, but this operation was given a special significance by its coinciding with the British announcement of measures tending towards the convertibility of sterling and with the entry of the European common market into a new stage of development on January 1. On that date trade exchanges between the countries of the European Six were to be eased. Customs duties were to be lowered and a certain proportion of goods were to be freed from import quotas. As far as France was concerned General de Gaulle, characteristically taking a bolder risk than was strictly required by the treaty, decided to remove 90 per cent of the quota restrictions.

Many provisions of the budget will have disagreeable effects on social conditions. Railway fares are higher, postal facilities more costly, coal, gas, wine and tobacco dearer. The social security services are to be made self-supporting. Pensions for ex-servicemen are to cease except in the case of a high degree of physical invalidity. As an off-set to these disadvantages the pensions for widows and orphans will be maintained; the guaranteed minimum wage for the lowest-paid workers will be increased; old age pensions will be raised; wages of State employees in the nationalized industries will be increased by 4 per cent.

All the unpopular dispositions of the budget are incidental to the accomplishment of the supreme aim, which is the establishment of monetary security. The franc is devalued to the level of 1,382 francs to the pound sterling. This figure relates to the franc as the unit hitherto existing. General de Gaulle announced, however, that a "heavy" franc, equivalent in value to the 100-franc price which has been in circulation for some years, will be introduced as a new unit. Notes of 10 "heavy" francs, for instance, bearing an exact resemblance to the current 1,000-francs note will be issued, and both types will be current at the same time and will have the same value.

The budget is directed against inflation and the estimated deficit of over 1,200 milliards is reduced by half. The budget is, however, given a "forward look" by an increase in investments for housing, school-building and for such purposes as the production of energy and equipment. Higher taxation on companies and business turnover, the classical expedients, will increase revenue. By a curious extension of an old device the possession of a motor-car, or a yacht, or a second residence in the country is interpreted for income tax purposes as representing a certain precise amount of income, a manifest source of miscalculation which has aroused much criticism. In its general design, in its removal of subsidies and respect for the full

mechanism of prices—formation, the consideration shown for investments as "production" expenditure, the budget carries the imprint of M. Rueff, the experienced financial official, and his commission of experts on whose report it seems to have been based.

Protests against the budget naturally came first from the State employees in the nationalized industries and from the peasants, who were directly touched by the severity of some of the new provisions. The 4 per cent advance on wages to employees was really a small compromise offer to railway workers and others who had for a long time been demanding much more considerable increases. The farmers were annoyed by the abolition of "indexation," by which their prices were mechanically regulated by reference to certain economic indices (such as the price of industrial products used in agriculture) which affected their own costs of production. One answer to the peasants was that "indexation" was only useful in times of inflation, and was obviously out of place at this moment, since it would imply continued distress of the future of the currency. The budget certainly suffers from the usual defects of its predecessors: it expects too much from indirect taxation which affects in undue proportion the modest class of consumers, and, owing to the practices of evasion, direct taxes themselves fall most heavily on persons with earned monies, whose salaries or wages are known and declared. The possible effect of protests should not be over-rated. They are no longer supported by instant echoes in Parliament. The dangers to which the budget policy of monetary stability might be exposed by some exorbitant rise in prices are countered by the restrictions of credit and the liberation of exchanges. It is the official view that the increase in prices of imports resulting from devaluation will not be enough to affect gravely the cost of industrial production.

The resignation of M. Mollet, the Socialist leader, from his post in the de Gaulle Ministry was due to the Socialist disapproval of the budget. He and his Socialist colleague M. Thomas provisionally remained in office until the new Ministry of M. Michel Debré was constituted. For the present the withdrawal of the Socialist Ministers is not of vital importance. The gradual development of a critical attitude among the now fragmentary groups is to be expected, and there are signs of it even among the members of the M.R.P. and the Conservative Independents. But the political world is still under the sway of the repeated confirmed supremacy of General de Gaulle and party positions count for little.

In the interim between his election to the Presidency of the Republic and his actual installation in that high office General de Gaulle continued to use his unlimited powers as head of the Government, and during the last days of his tenure of office a flood of Orders having the force of law continued to pour into the columns of the *Journal Officiel*. In the course of his "temporary magistracy" General de Gaulle, with the help of an efficacious administrative machine and a remarkable array of experts, has overhauled a great part of the institutions and agencies which regulate the life of the country, from national defence and the judicial system to education and housing and rents. Seen from this side the new régime looks like a great "technocracy." Experts have had their way "without troublesome consultation of a Parliament or of the interested parties."

By the manner of its formation the Government of M. Michel Debré.

largely made up of the same Ministers as that of General de Gaulle, has the qualifications necessary for continuing the same kind of rôle. M. Debré and his Government are responsible to Parliament, and their relations with the National Assembly, subordinated as it is to the executive, will no doubt become interesting as public opinion revives and reorganizes itself. M. Debré belongs to the Union from la Nouvelle République (U.N.R.), which triumphed at the general election, so that the traditional principle of choosing the Premier from the members of an important party is observed. The relations between a Prime Minister responsible to Parliament and the President of the Republic who appoints him have still to be worked out in practice. M. Debré was an old wartime adherent of General de Gaulle. As Minister of Justice he was one of the principal authors of the new Constitution. His present association with the President therefore promises mutual confidence at a high pitch. Still, the responsibility to Parliament is a serious factor in the Prime Minister's political situation and may one day put a faithful allegiance to the test. M. Soustelle, who at the time of the general election showed signs of becoming a possibly dynamic leader of the U.N.R., has been placed by M. Debré in a post very close to himself as "Ministre-delegate to the Prime Minister." He will be concerned with the development of the Sahara, with the overseas territories not included among the States of the Community, and with atomic energy. This miscellany of attributions rather suggests that he will be specially associated with the future application of the de Gaulle economic plan to Algeria, which is in the mind of the President of the Republic a fundamental project in his whole enterprise.

Although General de Gaulle's conception of the Presidential function was that of an arbiter it seems inevitable that he will continue to be an active power in the executive, an inference which is supported by the importance of the organization of the Presidential services at the Elysée. In his broadcast of December 28, after his election to the Presidency, he said that he would "exercise the supreme power to the full extent which, henceforward, it comprises." Clearly, he cannot disinterest himself from Algeria. It is part of the method of General de Gaulle patiently to pursue a policy even if he says little about it for a period. In the short speech he made on his installation at the Elysée he still repeated the sybeline phrases about the "place of choice reserved for the Algeria of tomorrow," which have given rise to contradictory interpretations. The best interpretation is probably the slow persistence of his aim. Success in General de Gaulle's liberal policy in Algeria is one of the ways to the success of his enterprise for the recovery of France. One admissible criticism of the budget designed to defend sound finance and the franc is that it still provides for the "unproductive expenditure" on the war in Algeria.

W. T. MIDDLETON.

## JACQUES SOUSTELLE

**A**T the height of the rather quiet French election campaign, I talked with Jacques Soustelle at the Ministry of Information in Paris. It would be an understatement to call him a controversial figure, for he is the one person in French politics about whom everyone has a definite opinion. By British standards a young man for the position he holds, he is no older than many other top French political figures. Indeed the average age of the Central Committee of the Union pour la Nouvelle Republique—his party—is in the forties, only one member being in the fifties. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, Committee member and recently elected leader of the Assembly, is only 43.

M. Soustelle's background and record are surprising even for France. Brilliant ethnologist and author of a standard work on Central America written before the war (nicknamed Jacques "Aztec" by the French Press), he was then a Trotskyist. At 26—at the time of Munich—he was secretary of the Anti-Fascist League of Intellectuals; Director of the Free French Information Services at 30; and in charge of Intelligence and Counter-Espionage at 31 (1943), which position he held till after the liberation. He served for a short time in the first post-war French Government and from 1947 was Secretary of the People's Rally, the then Gaullist "Party." He was to lead the dwindling band of Gaullists until appointed Governor-General of Algeria by Pierre Mendes-France in 1955. Ever since, of course, he has constantly been in the public eye. It is difficult to know where to place him in the political spectrum, at least in conventional terms. The integrationist in Algerian and Colonial affairs—and no one who has met him doubts his sincerity on these matters, though they may doubt the wisdom—is in foreign affairs an ardent nationalist. To my question on how to improve relations between France, Asia and the Middle East he replied: "Good relations between independent countries in this world cannot be based on anything but no intervention in the affairs of each country. For instance, we have no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the United Arab Republic or any other country in the Middle East or Asia. And we feel that nobody must interfere with our own problems."

At home slightly to the left of centre, an advocate of profit sharing and partnership in industry, some of his right-wing allies are due for a shock when, as is most probable, resenting the accusation of being extreme rightists—they proclaim themselves as centre—the leaders of the UNR Assembly Group begin to table some of the measures on the UNR platform.

Charm, energy, resolution and a capacity for hard work make up the Soustelle manner. I met him shortly after he had announced the French rejection of the Free Trade Area proposals.

*Self:* You have often been called the major French political opponent of the Free Trade Area. . . .

*Soustelle:* It's not correct. I don't specialize in that kind of problem, and my attitude is that of the Government. As it has been proposed my opinion is that the Free Trade Area needs further study before we can come to a definite decision.

*Self:* After the Common Market and the Free Trade Area comes European Union. Do you think this will come about within our lifetime?

*Soustelle:* I think so. There are already symptoms of European unity. I think that it was in '52 or '53 that my friends in Parliament and I proposed a law tending towards a European confederation. We are not, though it has



been said repeatedly, against European unity in any form. We think that the best way to realize it is not to go against the realities of Europe. Those realities, whether we like it or not, are the nations of Europe which are very much alive, but that is a historical fact. If we try to build only by technical agreements as in the past, we will not succeed. We have to build Europe by taking as a basis what really exists. My second point, we cannot make Europe without Africa. We think, many of us and I personally, that the real aim we have to keep in mind is a EurAfrica, that is a union between the advanced countries of Western Europe and the developing countries of Africa.

*Self:* I am often told in France that harmonious relations are more easily possible between European and African than between European and Arab. Do you think that good relations can be built up?

*Soustelle:* Certainly. I wouldn't say that my own experience is that you cannot develop good relations between European—say Frenchmen—and Arabs or Berbers. I have many Moslem friends; of course, there are also Arabs who fired at me, but that is another story. We French have very easily good relations with the Africans of "Black Africa," as we say in France. As for instance my colleague Mr. Houphouet (now a Minister of State, a native of the Ivory Coast) and many M.P.s I know who are natives of Black Africa, with whom we have always had very friendly and easy relations.

*Self:* It is the stated intention of General de Gaulle to try to bring the standard of Algeria in line with that of France. Do you think that the French economy can stand both the cost of Algerian development and Common Market competition, since both will bear their hardest on France within the next four or five years?

*Soustelle:* The development of Algeria will be a vital problem and it will be an effort for France. I have never tried to hide that aspect of the situation, and I have so written over the past few years. General de Gaulle and the Government have assessed the effort required. You will no doubt remember his speech at Constantine: "France has the means and the will." We are conscious of the difficulties involved, and we must do it. This operation of course is not entirely a sacrifice for France, for though we have to provide the finance, the equipment, the skill and the technicians, French eyes are more and more focused on the coal and gas question and the exploitation of the Sahara. We are confident that within a few years our needs in oil will be covered by this.

*Self:* Turning to home affairs, do you think that a Parliament or Assembly whose financial powers are so limited can really be effective?

*Soustelle:* The financial powers of the Assembly are not as restricted as all that. What is restricted is not the legislative power but those of initiation and administration, which was the case with the last Constitution. This in France is traditionally the field of the Government and not the Legislature, yet this was the field which the Assembly had invaded at the end of the Third and during the Fourth Republics. We are coming back to the French tradition, and in my opinion the new Parliament (this was before the election results) will be pretty effective in its own field, the making of laws.

*Self:* Many observers predict a nearly immediate clash between the Assembly and the Council of Ministers over these powers . . .

*Soustelle:* What makes such a clash possible is not the Constitution, but

human nature. The best Constitution in the world cannot change the nature of men, especially the nature of Frenchmen. So one can expect clashes, but not so frequent or so disastrous as they did before.

REX MALIK.

### CENTENARY OF ROUMANIAN UNION

JANUARY 24 marks the 100th anniversary of the Union of Moldavia and Walachia, accomplished against the intention and purposes of some Great Powers headed by Austria and Turkey, but effectively sponsored by France, Prussia, Sardinia and, to some extent, Russia. Britain although an ally of France, did not want to weaken the "sick man" on the Bosphorus, and therefore accepted only the unification of laws but not a union under a foreign prince. The union was achieved under a native prince "thanks to the astuteness of the Principalities themselves" as W. G. East writes, and, I would add, thanks to the patriotism of their leaders imbued with the ideas of 1848, when on January 24, 1859 the Wallachian Divan elected Prince Cuza of Moldavia as their ruler. Such a case was not foreseen by the rulings of the Paris Conference. After France, Russia, Prussia and Sardinia had accepted the election, the British Government advised the Porte not to oppose it as it was "a special case."

Thus at the Conference of Paris the seven Powers resolved in classical international language but unanimously "that the Convention of Paris had been violated", but recognized the double election of Cuza as "an exceptional case". Was the attitude of the British Government short-sighted? Compared with the policy of Queen Elizabeth I who was in favour of the union of Roumanian lands with Poland and Transylvania it certainly looked so. And if we remember that Sardinia achieved the union of Italy in 1866 and Prussia that of Germany in 1871, not forgetting the rising in the Balkan countries against the doomed Turkish Empire, the election of a foreign prince in the Roumanian Principalities in 1866 and their complete independence from Turkish suzerainty in 1878, we must conclude that British policy, against the advice of Gladstone, Lord Robert Cecil and Lord John Russell (May 4, 1858, House of Commons) lacked not only foresight but also realism.

Roumania lived from 1878 to 1913 its longest spell of peace, and her progress was remarkable. From 1918, when the union of all Roumanian lands (inclusive of Besarabia and Transylvania) was achieved, to 1941 was the second longest spell of peace. But since 1932, Hitler's advent, the peace was troubled with anxiety. Nevertheless her progress in those years was astonishing. Universal suffrage, land distribution, social insurance, freedom of thought, faith and movement had been achieved, a land mark worth noticing after 400 years under Turkish corrupt domination. If Mareshal Antonescu would have accepted the advice of the London Free Roumanians not to cross into Russia but to remain non-belligerent, as Hitler wanted him to do, the situation might have been today completely different. His military and personal ambitions have initiated the tragedy of today, which was sealed through Western weakness and lack of foresight by the Teheran and Yalta agreements with Russia.



Since 1944 Roumania has faced a long and hard domination and exploitation by Soviet Russia. One by one all the democratic achievements have been abolished: the Parliament is a rubber stamp, the parties and monarchy have been suppressed, the Greek Catholic Church dissolved and its prelates imprisoned and many of them died of ill treatment. The Greek Orthodox State Church is under Communist control. Even its Patriarch had to suffer a few months ago house arrest because many of his priests have propagated "socialistic ideas" in a "socialist" State, and also because they have hidden men of the Right. More than 200 of them have been arrested. Land has been redistributed to the peasants only to facilitate and to justify the subsequent forced creation of Kolkhozes. Private enterprise and trade have been "nationalized." Freedom of thought exists only for those who conform to the Communist line and freedom of movement even for foreign diplomats is restricted.

In recent weeks the remaining small merchants and artisans have been forced to join the State "co-operatives," and the remaining private medical practice has been forcibly stopped because the contrast between the good private medical care and the slackness of State medical service has damaged the prestige of the governing party. Corruption of and in the Communist party and administration has surpassed any past Ottoman standards. The Government was forced a few months ago to introduce a draconic decree law by which anyone who causes damage more than £6,000, has to face the death penalty. So far only men connected with former parties have been shot. Is this law only an excuse to get rid of the last vestiges of democratic minds? All the prisons are full, new ones had to be organized recently in blocks of houses. Since July a hitherto unheard of terror and persecution has been launched against everybody who is not trusted by the Communist machine.

How does the nation react to this cruel rule? The peasants work and produce less. In recent months ration cards had to be reintroduced in a once food exporting country. The workers in industry and the miners go slow because their earnings cannot feed and clothe them and their families. Local tyrants are occasionally shot, depots and government houses are set on fire, as happened last month in Jassy. A fighting and armed resistance exists in several mountain parts, which is proved by the announcements in the press that prisoners have been taken and also by the frequent death announcements of militia officers "who died on duty." Excursionists and even trains are stopped by the freedom fighters and emptied of everything useful to them. No wonder that the Government saw itself compelled to strengthen the militia by the formation of eight shock battalions stationed in the larger towns. Recently 14 active officers of the "trusted" army have been cashiered and expelled from the party because they criticised the behaviour of Russian officers and showed anti-Soviet feelings. The whole country is anti-Russian, even the majority of the Communist rank and file. The heralded retreat of Russian troops from Roumania is a farce. The troops who left Roumania with bouquets and military bands went home for re-education, and fresh troops arrived quietly at night and were directed to concealed places in forests where nobody is allowed to approach. The spirit of the nation is not broken. But so long as Roumania together with Czechoslovakia is faithfully following the Kremlin's turns and twists, and as long as the West does not have a constructive policy towards the 106

million slaves of the East and Central European prisons, the hopes of the nation remain only with God.

V. V. TILIA.

## KITCHENER

LORD ACTON declared in his oracular way that great men are usually bad men. Super-egoists are never attractive, since a flamboyant superiority complex tends to breed disdain for their fellow-citizens. Though Sir Philip Magnus has been criticized for painting the picture in rather dark colours, it is not his fault but that of his sitter. Readers of his biographies of Burke and Gladstone can trust him to make a scrupulously honest use of his materials. "Nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice." Sir George Arthur's official three-volume biography was a record rather than a portrait, and Lord Esher's little book, *The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener*, is described by his latest biographer as malicious and disparaging. Thus the time had come for a new assessment, based on a mass of fresh material, above all his own correspondence. Everyone was aware that he wrote a weekly letter to Lady Salisbury, who was in touch with the leaders of the Conservative Party, and now we learn how important they are for his thoughts and doings. Sir Philip deserves our gratitude for a frank and gripping narrative of a maker of history.

No British soldier since Wellington had inspired such whole-hearted admiration and such blind trust in the mass of the people. Here, they felt, is the man—the only man—who understands the art of war. And yet, despite the blare of trumpets, the impression left on the reader's mind is one of sadness. Supermen have their hours of intoxicating triumph, but they are as temperamental as prima donnas and are rarely happy for long. Obsessed by the consciousness of his dynamic powers, he was devoured by ambition, claiming the highest posts as a right and incensed when he did not get them. An ardent Imperialist in the noontide of Imperialism, he rendered unique services to the Empire, yet I do not think it unfair to say that his dominant passion was his own career. Like other supermen, such as Bismarck and Clemenceau, he could be charming when he wished, and he possessed a few devoted men friends, above all Colonel Fitzgerald who perished with him in the icy waters of the North Sea; but there was not much love in his heart. It is this absence of human feeling, this lack of consideration for others, this unconcealed self-glorification, which repels the reader and made him one of the loneliest of men. With few exceptions those who worked with him when he became a celebrity disliked him and indeed in many cases were terrified of him. While Lord Roberts, familiarly known as Bobs, who often appears in these crowded pages, gave love and got it, Kitchener never wanted it. Throughout the whole story we are conscious of a chill in the air.

Kitchener's name became familiar when the revolt of the Mahdi and the death of Gordon focused attention on Egypt and the Valley of the Nile. Henceforth, writes his biographer, he regarded himself as a man of destiny with a mission to smash Mahdism, avenge Gordon and reconquer the Sudan. His first task was to create a reliable Egyptian army, and nobody contested

the ability and the drive which ensured success. In 1897 Lord Cromer, the wisest and most attractive of our Empire-builders, reported to Salisbury that Kitchener was very unpopular owing to his harsh and unsympathetic manner. He added that he was an excellent man with a passion for economy rare in public men, and gave him invaluable help. There was, however, no affection on either side. The Khedive had no love for Cromer or any British official, but Kitchener he positively hated. He bullied his staff, writes his biographer, as some men bully their wives, and his Egyptian and Sudanese colleagues were all terrified of him. Nature had provided him with a commanding stature and a stern expression, and he was quite as formidable as he looked. His chief failing as an administrator was his inability to delegate work, and his temper was not improved by indigestion and overstrain.

I vividly remember the summer of 1898, when we held our breath as after years of preparation he marched up the Nile and smashed the forces of the Khalifa in a few hours at Omdurman. It was the culminating moment of his career and the beginning of his almost hypnotic influence on the British public.

When the Boer War opened in the following year with a series of defeats resulting from our utter unpreparedness, the Salisbury Cabinet despatched our two leading soldiers to retrieve the situation. A year later the gallant old Bobs returned and Kitchener was left in supreme command. He knew nothing of the Boers when he arrived, and his first impressions were unfavourable. "They are uncivilized savages with a thin white veneer. The Boer woman in the refugee camps who slaps her great protruding belly at you and shouts 'When all our men are gone these little Khakis will fight you' is a type of the savage produced by generations of wild, lonely life. The leaders and townspeople are sufficiently educated and civilized. I only refer to the bulk of the population." As the war dragged on into the third year he came to realize the fine qualities of our foes, and the most pleasing chapter in his life was his rejection of Milner's demand for unconditional surrender. It seemed a paradox that the soldier was for more statesmanlike terms than the High Commissioner, while the *Milner Papers* breathe surprise and anger at the lenient attitude of the Commander-in-Chief. After the signature of peace Kitchener shook hands with Botha and exclaimed, "We are friends now."

Having overcome the dervishes and the Boers, he was transferred to India to reorganize the army. At first he and Curzon got on well enough, but the honeymoon was soon over and no one could expect two such supermen who hated contradiction to run for long in double harness. The inevitable quarrel came over the division of authority. If he was to reform the army, argued the Commander-in-Chief, he must have a free hand. Since the Viceroy, replied Curzon, was the head of the Government, he, a civilian, must have the expert advice of a Military Member of the Council. That system of dual control, comments the biographer, was anathema to Kitchener, who might have repeated the old phrase *Aut Caesar aut nullus*. Curzon described him as a molten mass of devouring energy and burning ambition. Since neither of these arch-Imperialists was likely to climb down, the dispute—in which both sides had a good case—could only be settled in Downing Street.

Kitchener's reasoning was better than his manners, for readers of this narrative are likely to feel that by the turn of the century, when his name

and fame echoed through the world, he was suffering from a swelled head. Lord Birdwood, one of his favourite military secretaries, described how he terrified the citizens of Calcutta by driving a phaeton furiously on the wrong side of the road, shouting at intervals at other carriages, "Go to hell, damn you, get out of my way." The man who had effected the conquest of the Sudan on the cheap was recklessly extravagant in remodelling and beautifying his official residences. His dinner parties were worthy of Lucullus. "We were 40 at six tables," records an English visitor; "the centre one all gold plate and on a sideboard five gorgeous gold vases. I never saw such a repast." The dispute, as everyone knows, ended with Curzon's resignation after six strenuous years. Kitchener's system, in the author's opinion, must be accounted greatly superior to the one it replaced. After his latest victory his self-assurance became almost pathological, and he casually remarked to Minto, the new Viceroy, that he ought to have the Nobel Peace Prize for making peace in the Sudan and South Africa. He liked Minto, a less challenging personality than Curzon, but despised politicians in general and Morley, the Liberal Secretary of State, in particular, a veteran Gladstonian and what Imperialists dismissed as a Little Englander. When his term was over he fixed his eyes on the Viceroyalty as Minto's successor, an ambition strongly encouraged by King Edward and approved by Asquith, but vetoed by Morley on the ground that to appoint an autocratic soldier so soon after the Morley-Minto extension of self-government would create suspicion as to the sincerity of the British Government. "It is for you to decide," wrote Morley to Asquith, "but if he is appointed I shall resign." It was the first rebuff in his dazzling ascent, a blow to his pride no less than to his ambition.

Kitchener had expected to succeed Cromer in 1906 when the greatest of our Proconsuls retired, but when Sir Eden Horst died in 1910 there was no competitor for the post. Unlike his predecessors he spoke Arabic and knew every inch of the ground. Since the Khedive was an open enemy, Kitchener wanted to depose him and annex Egypt, but for that revolution he had to wait till the Great War when he took the sides of our enemies. The four years in Cairo were perhaps the most satisfying chapter of his stormy life. It is to his credit that he really cared about the poverty-stricken peasants and strove to improve their lot. He had mellowed at last and here his biographer is unstinting in praise. "All his personal staff agreed that he was the most delightful chief that it had ever been his privilege to serve." Readers of Sir Ronald Storrs' *Orientalism* will remember his devotion. It was the first and last time that he was absolutely his own master—no Curzon to fight as in India, no Milner as in South Africa, no Cabinet as in the final phase. Moreover, a great happiness had come into his life when a grateful country gave him the means to satisfy his artistic tastes and to buy the fine old mansion and park where he hoped to spend his years of retirement. His annual summer holiday was divided between the great country houses where he was an honoured guest and his beloved country home, which was gradually growing into a treasure house of the arts.

He had reached Dover on the conclusion of his holiday in 1914 when a telegram recalled him to London on the outbreak of war. He had hoped to remain in Egypt till the Viceroyalty of India fell into his lap like a ripe plum, as he felt sure it would. Though he had no wish for the War Office, the working of which he was wholly ignorant, he was called to the post

by the voice of the nation. Haldane had done his utmost to prepare for a large-scale struggle, but we were unready for a prolonged conflict involving armies on a continental scale. While conscription was almost universal in Europe, we conservative islanders had stuck to the voluntary principle, trusting for our safety on our navy, still the strongest in the world. All eyes were turned to the famous soldier whose mere presence at the War Office gave a feeling of confidence throughout all classes. A snapshot of him at a military ball shortly before the war by Osbert Sitwell brings him back to life. "One saw only him. He sat there as if he were a god, slightly gone to seed perhaps. A large square frame, with square shoulders, square head, square face, a square line of his hair above a square forehead, he sat there. As well as being the realization of an ideal of Kipling's, he plainly belonged to some different order of creation from those around him. His pose suggested immense strength."

The final phase was a drama in two acts, the first when he was the almost deified hero of the whole nation and rendered services beyond the capacity of any other man. While most of us indulged in wishful thinking and counted on a short fierce struggle, he bade the country to face at least a three years war. An army of millions would be required, with an unlimited supply of munitions. His greatest achievement was to raise "the Kitchener armies," which were getting into their stride at the time of his death two years later. Town and countryside were plastered with gigantic posters featuring the imperious countenance of the superman with the caption "England wants you." Since the Regular Army was cut to pieces and the Territorials were partially untrained, it was a matter of life and death, not only for ourselves but for the whole cause of the Allies, to provide millions of trained men to hold the front against the desperate assaults of the greatest military power in the world. If we are ever tempted to lay too much stress on his faults, let us never forget that he was one of the architects of the victory he did not live to see.

After launching the gigantic war effort Kitchener ran into a sea of troubles which darkened the last year of his life. Though he and French were old friends and comrades from the Boer War, friction soon developed and continued till the Commander-in-Chief was recalled and succeeded by Haig. In 1915 things went very wrong in France, and the Dardanelles campaign, which he approved, was a tragic blunder. A war of such dimensions required team work of which he was incapable. Northcliffe, then at the height of his power, launched broadside after broadside, and the Cabinet lost confidence in his judgment. When a Ministry of Munitions was created, with Lloyd George at its head, and Sir William Robertson became Chief of the Imperial General Staff, he felt that he was relegated to the position of a recruiting sergeant, responsible for raising and training the armies but little more. Though Lloyd George and Bonar Law wanted to give him a post abroad, Asquith felt that his unique popularity among the country remained a valuable asset. He knew that "those bloody politicians" wanted to get rid of him, and during the last months of bitter humiliation he would have been glad to go. When the deadlock was broken in an unexpected way, his prestige in the country was still so high that a legend arose that he was still alive and a captive in Germany.

The biographer concludes his story with a verdict as impartial as if it were delivered by a judge. "He was an individualist of great conceptions, whose

hard and selfish nature was capable at times of kindness, sympathy and even affection. His two basic attributes were an unparalleled thoroughness and an unparalleled drive. . . . He became a legend during his lifetime. He subdued the hearts and minds of uncounted millions of men and women as he worked out the vivid pattern of a military proconsular career during the years of Great Britain's imperial apogee. At the moment when that pattern became too complex to be extended or unravelled, the signature of a soldier's death crowned the work and brought release." G. P. GOOCH.

Sir Philip Magnus. *Kitchener, Portrait of an Imperialist*. John Murray. 30s.

### CHILD RESCUE IN ISRAEL

WHEN 50 Jewish boys and girls from Germany, all of ages 15-17, arrived at a collective village in the Vale of Jezreel in February, 1934, nobody could have conceived that they were the advance guard of 90,000 children and young persons—many of them "brands plucked from the burning"—who in 25 years were brought to the Land of Israel and trained in villages and children's homes for life in a community cultivating the soil. The movement is known by the hybrid name "Youth Aliya," the Hebrew word meaning both immigration and physical and spiritual ascent. It has become the greatest effort in the world for rescuing and regenerating the stricken youth of a period of inhumanity unparalleled in history. The idea of sending young Jews and Jewesses from Germany to the Jewish National Home to escape the frustration and humiliation of the Hitler anti-Semitic brutality was first conceived by the wife of a Berlin Rabbi in 1933. Then it was adopted by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, inspired by another woman of great vision and educational genius. She was Miss Henrietta Szold, an American Jewess, who had already created and built up a vast organization of American Jewish women for the medical and health services of Palestine. At the age of 75, this Mother in Israel turned to the new task of saving the youth of Central Europe, and gave to it her heart and mind for the last 10 years of her life.

In the first five years, before the outbreak of the Second World War, the movement had brought 5,000 young persons from the cities of Germany and Austria to the Land, and placed them in villages to be trained for a new life with a new language and culture. During the war, with the help of the British authorities, it was able to bring another 10,000, while the mass of the Jewish people in Europe were being exterminated by the Nazis. In 1943, there was the dramatic reception of nearly 1,000 waifs and strays who had made their way, singly or in little groups, across European and Asiatic Russia to the Caspian Sea and were gathered at Teheran. They were brought by devious ways to Israel. Then at the end of the war, when the Jews were desperately anxious to bring to the National Home the children and youth survivors from the Nazi concentration camps, there was a sad setback. The British Administration of Palestine would not let thousands of them enter, because they were not holders of regular immigration certificates, and they were interned in camps behind barbed wire in Cyprus—then a peaceful island. "Youth Aliya," with remarkable



resourcefulness, established a children's village within the internment area, and sent their teachers and youth leaders from Palestine to educate the inmates in Hebrew, the language of their future home, and its history, and so far as could be done, in cultivation of the ground. Training centres for thousands more waiting to enter the Promised Land were opened in England, France, Italy and other countries. Meantime the movement in Palestine extended its regeneration services to the children, orphans and others, of the poorer communities in the towns. They were largely from the Oriental Jewish Dispersion of Irak, Turkey, the Yemen and North Africa. That special effort bore the title "From City to Village."

When the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948, the doors were opened wide to all the children, including those interned in Cyprus, who wanted to enter. "Youth Aliya" has taken responsibility each year for about 5,000 young immigrants, most of them being from large families in need, and living in harsh circumstances. It has at any time 15,000 wards under its care. They are distributed in 250 villages, some collective, some co-operative, some specially established for the children, in all parts of the land. Many of the homes are conducted according to the strict Jewish tradition, others less strictly. The majority of the young people today are from the Oriental communities. In the 25 years since the modest beginning the movement has nearly attained the goal of regenerating 100,000 young people coming from the most varied environments.

It is a wonderful record, and not less wonderful is it that the system of education devised for that first group of 50 has remained the system for tens of thousands. It is education for the life of a community in a community working the soil. Miss Szold had the inspiration of letting the early groups of boys and girls, who came with some preparation, be educated by the villagers themselves. They had their own living quarters, their youth leader and educator for each group of 50, and they divided the day between school lessons, work in the field and the farm, and group activities, music, drama and other recreations, in the evening. They learnt to take a pride in manual labour, above all, in cultivating the soil. During the first 15 years the large majority, after their period of two or three years preparation, chose to be land workers. They formed fresh groups—often together with the Israel-born youth—and established new points of agricultural settlement in the border lands and in the rough, empty Negev. Nearly all the settlements in the Negev were founded by groups of "Youth Aliya." It is another admirable feature that many of those who came as wards have become educators of the ever-growing stream of immigrant children. Almost every village established by them becomes a nursery of fresh groups.

The youth played their full part in the War of Independence, fighting in the Hagana, Israel's voluntary army; and some hundreds gave their lives. "Youth Aliya" has been the principal reservoir of the rural, which is one-fifth of Israel's total, population. It is true that in recent years a smaller proportion stay on the land, because the call for technical skills and the military or civil services of the state is a strong competitor. Yet for all of them the aim of the education and its achievement has been to give a sense of belonging to the community and identification with Israel's Nation. Another development of the later years has been the erection of training centres in the new towns, such as Beersheba, filled with new immigrants. There the children come for the day from the family home to learn skills

and hygiene, as well as Hebrew, history and the geography of the land.

The movement, like so many of the constructive efforts in Israel, has been maintained, and is constantly expanded, by a partnership of the Jewish communities of the world and the Jewish Agency and the State. The Jews of the world, largely through women's committees, contribute over £1,000,000 a year. The English share of it amounts to some £130,000, and the English Society have a special responsibility for a village on the Carmel that bears the name of Orde Wingate. Christians as well as Jews have a part in this work of child regeneration. In England Lorna Wingate, the wife of Orde, is a vice-president; so is Lord Balfour, the heir of Arthur Balfour. The patron of the world organization is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who has several times visited the villages in Israel and talked in each with the children. The Save the Children Fund is closely associated with the effort in England, and shares in many of the fund-raising activities. In the fulfilment of the prophet's vision—"And the children of Israel shall return to their borders"—there is neither Jew nor Gentile, but a common effort of humanity.

NORMAN BENTWICH.

## ST. DUNSTAN AND HIS TIMES

**S**AINTE DUNSTAN was the son of a lady of quality and a thegn of Somersetshire. His father held land near the ancient Abbey of Glastonbury which, despite the recession and relapse of the ninth century, maintained its school, dispensing hospitality to Irish pilgrims who sought the relics of St. Patrick and St. Bride. "The date of Dunstan's birth is unknown, but convincing reasons for placing it in or before 910 are given by L. A. St. L. Toke, *The Bosworth Psalter*," writes Sir Frank Stenton in *Anglo-Saxon England*, thereby vindicating the *Saxon Bishops of Wells* of Dean Armitage Robinson, who had rebutted the Victorian acceptance of the traditional 925. In youth Dunstan's unpopularity with his kinsmen became a by-word. The story of his taking the Devil by the nose with a pair of hot pincers (he was a notable craftsman in metals and wood) has given rise to an unsustained legend of cruelty. He was often ill, saw visions, was introspective; his moods did not endear him to young men of more rumbustious life and less exalted aspiration. Severe illness, coupled perhaps with the persuasiveness of his protector and kinsman, Bishop Aelfheah, induced him to renounce marriage.

On the death of Athelstan, Edmund the Magnificent became King and Dunstan a courtier. A hunting incident above Cheddar Gorge somehow made the new king repent of his neglect of Dunstan, who was forthwith inducted into the Abbey of Glastonbury. There he held sway for some 15 years. Although the Glastonbury pattern was Benedictine, its form is unknown. In 940 King Edmund gave Glastonbury its charter, and in 944 conferred the Abbey of Bath upon the immigrant monks of St. Bertin who had rejected the discipline of the reforming Gerard of Brogne. Although the Cluniac dispensation exerted little direct effect upon Anglo-Saxon forms, it somehow contrived to transmit its influence through Fleury on the Loire. There the saintly Oda of Canterbury had known service as a monk, and



Oswald and Oscar were to study its customs. In 956 the feckless Eadwig ascended the throne. After the ordeal of the anointing, young Eadwig left the anointment-feast for the company of a noble lady and her daughter, each of whom wanted to become queen. Dunstan went to remonstrate with the king and dragged back the protesting youth to his Witan. Forthwith exiled at the behest of the elder, Dunstan took refuge in modern Belgium, first with Arnulf, Count of Flanders, and afterwards at the monastery of Blandinium at Ghent. It was not only to Fleury but also to Ghent, where Dunstan dwelt at St. Peter's, that the *Regularis Concordia*, the work of his colleague Bishop Aethelwold and the definitive custom of Winchester, came to express its debt. Recalled in 957 to Mercia by Edgar, who had supplanted Eadwig as King of Mercia and of Northumbria though not yet of Wessex, Dunstan was consecrated Bishop and entrusted with the administration of two sees, first Worcester and later London. With a new sovereign on the throne of Egbert of Wessex, *basileus* of England, the year 959 or 960 witnessed Dunstan's translation to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury and that of his aide-de-camp, Saint Oswald, to Worcester.

Though Dunstan it was who crowned Edgar and Edward the Martyr and Ethelred the Unready, attended each of Ethelred's recorded Councils, and attested each of his Charters during the last years (he died in 988), it fell to Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester and Bishop Oswald of Worcester, pursuing Dunstan's strategy, to carry through the tenth-century monastic revival. Dunstan, proclaims Bishop Stubbs, "was the prime minister, perhaps the inspirer, of the consolidating policy of Edgar; he restored through the monastic revival the intercourse between the English Church and that of France, and established a more intimate communication with the Apostolic See; in so doing he did what could be done to restore piety and learning. Under his influence the Mercian bishoprics again lift up their heads; the archbishops henceforth go to Rome for their palls; the Frank writers begin to record the lives of English saints." Such, stripped of an edifying demonology which permeates the *Vita auctore B* and other early lives of the Saint, are the essential facts of the life and career of Dunstan of Canterbury. Many have paid tribute to his fine gift of artistic creation and to that sanctity, mellowness and serenity which in middle life and old age seem to have replaced the psychological storms and stresses of youth.

The age demanded a Dunstan, and an Edgar too, for, as Sir Frank Stenton has observed, "the time was past when an individual adventurer could hope to found a dynasty in England." A promising future had been assured the West Saxon dynasty by Edward the Elder and his sons. On November 23, 955, King Eadred died, leaving no heir. His successors were the two sons of brother Edmund. Eadwig the "all-fair" was immature even for his age (he was about 15) and "could not rule either himself or others." Edgar was 12. Henceforth for barely 25 years Anglo-Saxon England enjoyed a precious immunity from Danish invasion. Then, in 980, a new phase of Danish conquest opened. The tenth century was to attribute this happy era, this age of quiet and unsensational progress, to a wise and worthy king and to his Primate. Four of King Edgar's most famous "ministers," the ealdormen of Mercia, Essex, East Anglia and Hampshire, Aelfhere, Byrhneth, Aethelwold and Aefheah, had all achieved power in the days of King Eadwig, who could not have chosen thoughtless advisers so often as is asserted. The stage was now set for religious revival, a renaissance of religious devotion, and a

recrudescence of the monastic life which the new king inspired and fostered. For 29 eventful years from 959 until 988, Dunstan was the dominant figure in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical and political life, possibly, too, in Anglo-Saxon constitutional history. His conflict with King Eadwig in 956 had clearly done much to enhance his status within the Witan, who are known, certainly in one instance before Dunstan's own time, to have been designated "the men of the King and the Archbishop."

The new king was a man of parts, though not of the highest quality of the West Saxon dynasty, for he fell short of the standard established by Alfred the Great and Alfred's grandson, Athelstan. Contemporaries nonetheless hailed his talents. Three major achievements stand to his credit: first, he held Anglo-Saxon England secure against her enemies for 16 years; secondly, he contrived to fashion a mosaic of domestic order in which the peace of King Edgar was an intrinsic element, and, thirdly, he gave lively and unqualified support to monastic reform. On the Whit-Sunday of 973, in the fourteenth year of his reign, he was crowned at Bath. The delay is usually ascribed to an old scandal, but it must be noted, too, that the coronation was postponed until his thirtieth year—the age of canonical ordination. Two experimental drafts were prepared before the form was approved; its essence was anointing, solemn and sacramental, which set the King apart; Edgar and Dunstan saw much in common between kingly anointing and priestly consecration. Edgar, like his uncle Athelstan, assumed the style of *basileus* and *Imperator Augustus*. Although the monarchical elective principle and the practice of associating the royal heir with the sovereign power persisted, Edgar and Dunstan asserted the sacred character of coronation and monarchy. Edgar pronounced a coronation oath not greatly dissimilar from that of French Carolingian Kings, promising to maintain the Church and all his people in peace, to judge mercifully, and to suppress rapine and injustice. The Anglo-Saxon Church was never servile; its archbishops assumed leadership even in the deposition of kings. Petit-Dutaillis emphasizes the use of the formula "I and all of us" by the king and his Witan. There was a parallel between Edgar's coronation and the anointing of the Carolingian Kings, for example, that of Charles the Bald, who had received from the prelate not only crown and sceptre but the unction of the holy chrism, a mixture of oil and balsam, which endowed the monarch with the privileges of a bishop, and thereby (as Petit-Dutaillis suggests) fashioned the coronation ceremony into an ecclesiastical treaty.

A sequel was the event depicted with some gusto by Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham—the assembling of the eight kings in Britain to acknowledge the supremacy of Edgar the Overlord. The fleet lay at anchor at Chester. Six sovereigns swore to serve him by sea and by land. In Norman times the Midland annalist, Florence of Worcester, would confidently assert that these sub-kings rowed Edgar on the River Dee from his palace to the Church of St. John and back, with Edgar himself holding the rudder. A pleasing story, it contains more than a conventional germ of truth, for Stenton has identified each of the kingly oarsmen whom Florence of Worcester lists. The event demonstrates, too, that Edgar the Peaceful had secured his realm against Scottish attack. Such a relationship was feudal and personal. The loss by cession of Lothian, then English territory, between the Tweed and the Forth, strengthened the Anglo-Saxon stake in what was to evolve, within a hundred years, as an Anglo-Celtic kingdom. Meanwhile the Danish population, now

long settled in Eastern England, largely governing itself and sustaining its old-time Scandinavian legal and social customs, comprised an integral province of Edgar's realm and was happy enough in its status. The administration of Edgar was, however, neither tighter nor looser than that of the average tenth century monarch. The media of his rule were four: earls and warlord ealdormen, prelates, militia and managers of royal estates. There were, too, the nine provisions of the Ordinance of the Hundred, duly prescribing monthly meetings, a document so short and succinct as to occupy barely one page of Stubbs' *Select Charters*. Edgar died suddenly on July 8, 975. Edward the Martyr and, later, in 977, his half-brother, the futile Ethelred the Redeless, entered into Edgar's inheritance.

What of the life of the Church in this era? Ninth century ravages had left ugly scars. Danish invasions in the eighth and ninth centuries had decimated the ecclesiastical and monastic life of East Anglia, Eastern Mercia and Southern Northumbria; there was an 86-year hiatus in the recorded succession of East Anglian bishops (870-956); the archiepiscopal see of York, poverty-stricken, fell, almost but not quite, into limbo; a cathedral on Aidan's tidal island of Lindisfarne was abandoned; three major bishoprics perished. Guthrum the Dane had embraced the Christian faith three decades before the birth of Dunstan. Although Danish heathenism was never omnipotent, it could not have been before about 955 that Durham Cathedral was begun by Bishop Ealdhun of Chester-le-Street, who pioneered the veneration of St. Cuthbert and his see. A document of 972, while furnishing a list of seized Church properties, also indicates that the Church received from King Eadwig, in 956, the extensive estate at Southwell, and others in 958 at Sutton and Scrooby from Edgar as King of Mercia. When in 972 Saint Oswald ascended the archiepiscopal throne of York, he retained his old see as Bishop of Worcester, in worldly terms a far more worth-while proposition than the archiepiscopate, and thence till 1016 and again in 1040 the two sees were held together. In the late tenth century Norfolk and Suffolk was rounded into a single diocese with North Elmham as cathedral and Eadwulf as bishop. Leicester had boasted a bishop for 140 years until the Danish subjugation of Mercia. Henceforth not Leicester but Dorchester in Oxfordshire comprised the foremost episcopal authority for a vast tract extending from Thames to Humber; Lindsey was never re-established. After the Norman Conquest the Bishop of Dorchester was to transfer his see to Lincoln and to blossom forth under the new dynasty as a powerful territorial magnate—the living embodiment of the new feudalism. The expansion of the West Saxon sees from two to five (Winchester and Sherborne were already far too big) had already been accomplished half a century before the archiepiscopate of Dunstan.

Be it recorded that the concept of a cathedral chapter was unknown to Anglo-Saxon England; archdeacons were essentially a ninth-century phenomenon and can be listed for the provinces of Canterbury and York from the turn of the tenth century until the coming of William I; the Saxon Archbishop Ealdred of York is believed to have set up prebends in Southwell, his own cathedral church, but rural deans were unknown. The old-time monastic cathedral was already extinct in the age of King Athelstan. Such was the Scandinavian impact that the ruins of North Elmham comprise the only Saxon cathedral of which any part may be seen above ground. Many fragments of churches extant between the Danish and Norman invasions

have, however, been worked into more recent structures. Holy Trinity, Bosham, "the oldest site of Christianity in Sussex," where men have worshipped for 16 centuries, is a famous example in that ancient kingdom. Examples are numerous in Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. Never was the English Church, either before or after the archiepiscopate of Saint Dunstan, isolationist or narrowly parochial; Carolingian minuscule handwriting, Rhineland architectural forms and Byzantine figure-sculpture permeated the tenth century.

Reform can be dated from the 17-year Winchester episcopate (934-951) of King Athelstan's chaplain Aelfheah—that same Aelfheah who had ordained St. Dunstan. Dunstan's lieutenant, Aethelwold of Winchester, crusading and tirelessly litigious, drove out the clerks from the Old and New Minsters at Winchester, from Chertsey and from Milton Abbas, and went on to restore the monastic life at Ely, Peterborough and Thorney, all in the very heart of the Danelaw. Another colleague, Oswald, whose association with the Abbey of Ramsey facilitated his heavy debt to continental learning, likewise restored the Abbey of Winchcombe to the monks. Between 963 and 975 Edgar and Dunstan summoned to Winchester their synodical councils. There they devised, with Aethelwold as Editor-in-Chief, the famous *Regularis Concordia* which unstintingly drew upon the Rule of St. Benedict and, in tribute to the royal devotion, enunciated the duty of prayer for the monarch and the royal family. "The last five years of Edgar's reign were a kind of apogee for the monastic movement," pronounces Dom David Knowles in his classic survey, *The Monastic Order in England*. "The three great leaders, together with abbots, abbesses, monks and nuns were invited by King and Queen to take part in the various important gatherings of those years which Dunstan would seem to have encouraged in order to cement the nation's unity." But the relationship established by this concordat was ultra-personal and therefore transitory. An anti-monastic reaction, seemingly political rather than ecclesiastical in motive, set in with the death of Edgar. It eased in 983 after the death of the ealdorman Aelfhere of Mercia. Ethelred II, despite preoccupation with the defence of the realm, was nonetheless able to establish new foundations like Burton-on-Trent. Within a few years of each other the three reforming prelates were gathered to their fathers, Aethelwold in 984, Dunstan in 988 and the gentle, magnificently voiced Oswald in 992. Tradition has it—the report is first given in the *Vita* by Adelard—that the last words of St. Dunstan as he lay dying on May 19, 988, after receiving the Viaticum at a Mass celebrated in his presence, were those of the Psalmist: "The merciful and gracious Lord hath made a remembrance of His marvellous works; He hath given food to them that fear Him." Dunstan's work was done. It was to be exemplified by the presence in 993 of Abbots of some 18 monasteries at the court of King Ethelred the Unready. The reformation had, however, gained little momentum in the West Midlands or among the Anglo-Danish gentry and the free peasantry of the Northern Danelaw—certainly not in the latter case until the twelfth century. Even so it is the measure of the achievement of Dunstan and his fellow-reformers that for 91 years, from 975 to the death of King Harold II, every diocese in England was presided over by a monk-bishop.

DERYCK ABEL.

## HEMINGWAY IN SPAIN

THE theme of Ernest Hemingway's discovery of Spain is a significant phenomenon in recent literature. It is at once a tale of discovery and a homage of a man to a place where he has found a good life: a phenomenon comparable with Gauguin's fascination with the South Seas or Yeats' rediscovery of Ancient Erin. The start of Hemingway's *afición* goes back to the outset of his career, when as a Paris-based correspondent of the *Toronto Star* he paid a number of visits to Vigo, Pamplona, Mallorca, for fishing. At the time, in the early 'twenties, Hemingway was a literary *novillero*, with less experience as a writer than as a man of action—on the Italian Front in 1917-18 and on reporting assignments in the Near East. Some of his Spanish trips featured in the short stories in *In Our Time*.

In the summer of 1925 Hemingway went to Spain to write his second novel (the Michigan story, *The Torrents of Spring*, being his first). In six busy weeks at Valencia, San Sebastian and Madrid, he produced *The Sun Also Rises*. *Sun* is now recognized as one of the best-sellers of the century. The story of the Bohemian Anglo-American group of writers and loafers who went from Paris to the fiesta at Pamplona needs no retelling. Some great features of *Sun* are: the tension, finely maintained by the competition for the favours of the ravishing Brett Ashley; the train trip south, the now-famous "terse, hard, athletic" style, glow with the fresh joy of discovery; above all, there are the people—the neurotic, self-pitying Jew Robert Cohn, the drunken Mike Campbell, friendly Spanish peasants, and Brett, the Circe of the tale. So true to life were these folk and their catch-phrases that after publication of *Sun*, it was known around Paris as *Six Characters in Search of an Author—with a Gun Apiece*.

In *Sun* we see the first development of the characteristic Hemingway philosophy, and in a number of conclusions which may be drawn from it, the reason why it is as popular as when it first appeared. In the text-books where *Sun* has found its place it is described as the classic study of the Lost Generation. To me this is only half-true: I do not know that there was such a thing as the Lost Generation—all generations are more or less lost—some from our allegedly healthier past having been excoriated with words a lot stronger than that (the first generation A.D., for example, lashed by Christ Himself as one "of vipers"). *Sun* is more than mere reporting on a period; it is a study of lostness, futility, drunkenness, purposelessness as observable in all epochs. The idea that the 'twenties were any more lost than any other was rejected by Hemingway himself. He said that the term "*une génération perdue*" originated, not with some ponderous historiographer of the *Götterdämmerung* of the West, but was heard by Gertrude Stein from a Parisian garage-owner in connection with the ineptitude of his younger mechanics (Hemingway, in a letter to Carlos Baker). *The Sun Also Rises*, then, is about lostness in general. It is also an essay on the way out.

The lost Bohemians go from Paris to Spain. The narrator Jake Barnes and a fellow-journalist go separately to the Irati Valley. There they find deliverance from the neurotic tribulations of Cohn, Campbell and Brett, and the rigmarole of the lost; they tramp the beech-woods, they fish, they drink wine with lusty Navarrese peasants. They discover that, despite everything, the sun also rises; "one generation passeth away," in the words Hemingway sets from Ecclesiastes on the fly-leaf, "and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth." *The Sun Also Rises* plumbs a kind of lostness very like that we hear much of today. It is a great book because it reminds us



that health, trees, fiesta, the earth are never too far away, not even from the most neurotic centrifoci of Admass; no farther, to bring the problem right up to date, than for example the price of a few weeks' economy in contributions to the juke-box slot. The case of Hemingway 30 years ago was that of the young writer from Oak Park, Illinois, smug suburb of the ugliest metropolis of North America, who, fleeing via the concentrated decadence of Montmartre, found new hope in the soil and traditions of one of the great European civilizations. Extending the argument, it could be pointed out that, despite Admass, Subtopia, *Daily Mirror* Culture and television, the swollen cities of industrial Europe still do not cover more than a chancrous one per cent of the soil of Europe—but the earth abideth. Is there not a hint for the angry young men and sad outsiders of today in *The Sun Also Rises*?

Spain remained a major source of inspiration to Hemingway during the later 'twenties while he was achieving fame and developing a characteristic philosophy. Life is futile, repeated the war veteran and Bohemian: but we exist and a man may as well "find things he cannot lose" (*In Another Country*, 1927), for instance, the earth. There is an obvious connection with Existentialism, or further back with Stoicism here. In 1932 appeared *Death in the Afternoon*. This is the great book of the bull-fight; also of the values Hemingway was learning in Spain. Here he reminds us how many things there are which even futilitarians cannot lose: tramps along dusty roads, ease in rope-soled shoes, the smell of wineskins, moonlight swimming, the sight of fine old castles like that of Aoiz, the exuberance of orchard-land like that around Valencia, the blue sky such as you see arching over Madrid. And the bullfight—"more a tragedy than a sport"—which is a microcosm of "man in rebellion against death." Maybe life is futile, terminating in death; but Hemingway's Spaniards at the bullfight saw a lesson in how artistry, resourcefulness, valour can be snatched, literally, from the face of death.

*For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), the novel of the Spanish Civil War, is the most comprehensive of Hemingway's novels, and alone among so much that was partisan and polemical on the subject, is of enduring force. One may not sympathize with the cause he was supporting—the Republican; may feel that the advent of Franco was not the total destruction of the soul of Spain Hemingway's characters thought it would be. However, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is only secondarily propaganda: primarily it is a work of art about an eternal human problem, namely man's responsibility to society. The crux of the work is the self-questioning the American idealist, Robert Jordan, goes through in his four dramatic days with the guerrilla band behind the enemy lines. Because the book is not really propaganda. Hemingway follows the dictate of truth that evil is as much rampant in "our" ranks as "theirs"—as in the account of the cynicism of the high-living Russian commanders at Gaylord's Hotel in Madrid, or the murder of non-Communists at Avila after which the murderers lay drunk in the square shouting *Viva la Anarquía!*

Robert Jordan is fighting for the Republic because he believes it represents happiness for the people. Earlier, however, when he had killed a Falangist cavalryman and read his letters from home, he had found that people on the other side believed that they too were fighting for the happiness of the people, now menaced by Marxism and irreligion, and would be made

unhappy by the triumph of Jordan's side. In view of what we know about Jordan's associates—yokels, defeatists and the bloodthirsty leader of the guerrillas, Pablo—is his side any better than the other? Thus it might appear that commitment of oneself is futile either way. Such reflections might lead to a Laodicean attitude that both are deluded, corrupted, six-of-one-and-half-a-dozen-of-the-other, and thence to belief that all politics are futile and thence to resignation from social participation as is fashionable today. The importance of Jordan's position is that he refuses to be defeated by his inability to know the final right and wrongs of political life. He knows that a man cannot resign. He sees that fighting is taking place, the land is being despoiled, and he must take up a position, if only in the hope of helping to get the war over. There is always social *stasis*: Robert Jordan's answer to it is not resignation before its incurability, but decision. He will fight for the good in his own side; hold in abeyance, but not forget, the bad in it. After the immediate problem—the war—is over, he will oppose the bad in his own side.

A further point suggests itself. Just as there is bad in one's own side there is some good in the other side—obviously: every movement, group, tendency, race in this fallen world is a mixture of good and bad. Thus one must fight only the bad in the other side, hold in abeyance respect for the good; after the hoped-for defeat of the enemy a coming-to-terms with the good in the enemy side. A man's vision is limited and he must of necessity only comprehend a limited section of truth; but let him work for that. History shows that men of good will have been committed against each other without cease; but in strife they have tended to forget the bad and self-interested in their motives and determined to continue fighting for the true in their beliefs. Thus to have won the Spanish Republicans could have had to learn a *modus vivendi* with the traditionalists: while it could be argued that the forces of tradition under General Franco won because they yielded some of their extremism (as in not restoring the Bourbon monarchy) and absorbed some progressive features (as the National Syndicalist State, which they adopted from Pope Leo's encyclicals as a counter to the appeal of Communism among the workers). The self-questioning of the protagonists of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* yield the most important of all the truths Hemingway found in Spain. In Spain, high exemplar of one of the traditional cultures of Europe, Hemingway, the rebel without a cause of an earlier generation, made discoveries of an abiding spiritual value. Those values are still there, awaiting scrutiny by the writers of this generation.

JOHN PATRICK BURY.

## THE EFFECT OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

THE Russian attempt to force the Western Powers to grant diplomatic recognition to their puppet régime in Central Germany leads naturally to the question of how far the Government demanding recognition is really representative. Its effectiveness cannot be doubted; as shown by the events of June 17, 1953, it can, like the Kadar régime in Hungary, at any time command effective Russian support to suppress any popular rising.

While this of itself would indicate the lack of true support from its citizens, the fact that Herr Ulbricht's Government is by no means representative of the will of the people is further reinforced by the mass flight of citizens to the West. Fleeing from Soviet Germany is still easier than from any other country beyond the Iron Curtain because of Berlin's special position; the desire to close this way of escape may well be one of the motives in the manoeuvre to drive the Allies out of the city. Since the establishment of the present régime east of the Elbe many hundreds of thousands have left to live in Western Germany; in 1957 alone nearly half a million people fled to the West; and the figure for 1958 was still higher. It is well known that the people of the East Zone, particularly the younger generation, have been subjected to intense propaganda; the fact that "they voted with their feet" against the régime by fleeing to the West does not mean that the propaganda has not had effect—*semper aliquid haeret*.

To investigate how far refugees, especially young people, from the East Zone are still subconsciously influenced is an interesting and rewarding task, as it is bound to reveal the effects of a concentrated effort to influence the sense of social values. How far are the Communist authorities successful in their efforts? Dr. G. Juraschek, a young German sociologist from Cologne, has systematically investigated the prestige value attached by young refugees from the Russian Zone of Germany to various occupations,\* and has com-

\*For similar investigations cf. J. Hall and C. D. Jones, "Social grading of occupations," in *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 31ff., and H. T. Himmelweit, A. H. Halsey and A. N. Oppenheim, "The Views of Adolescents on Some Aspects of the Social Class Structure," *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 155ff.

pared the results with the corresponding attitude of young people who have grown up in Western Germany. He has also compared the scale of social values held by young refugees recently arrived in the West with the attitude of those who arrived a year or more earlier and have had time to settle in their new surroundings. Unfortunately his investigation is not yet available in print. It is hoped that not only will a German publisher print his findings, but that an English translation will also appear.

The investigation is based on *questionnaires* answered, under supervision to ensure spontaneity, by 1,250 young refugees. Some have been in the Federal Republic for five years and now live in settled conditions, some have been on this side of the Iron Curtain for only a few weeks and their future is uncertain. Yet the basic agreement between the two sets of social values is surprising. It shows how deeply rooted is the effect achieved by the Eastern system of education when even those people who have fled still retain for years the social values hammered into them during their formative years.

The questions Dr. Juraschek tried to answer in his investigations may be grouped as follows:

1. Have the young refugees *common* conception of "high" and "low," of "top" and "bottom" in their scale of values?
2. How far is their conception of social value and social prestige based on their education, and how far is it in keeping with the official conceptions of such value and prestige?
3. How far is their conception, assuming one to exist, influenced by their subsequent stay in the Federal Republic? Which is the stronger—the social mobility of the West or the rigid system of the East?
4. How far do conceptions of social values held by young people educated and formed in the West differ?



Dr. Juraschek asked all these persons questioned to place in the order of social prestige 35 trades and professions from which they had to choose. Only 2.62 per cent of the 1,250 young people questioned spoiled their *questionnaires* in any way; the remaining answers are consequently valid. In all answers—regardless of divergencies, such as age, length of stay in the West, social group to which parents belong, social groups to which those questioned belong—those occupations considered highest in prestige were the same, viz., doctor, professor, electrical chief engineer, teacher, in this order. The same applies to the lower end of the scale, which is a paid secretary of the FDJ (Free German Youth, the official Communist youth organization), whose office ranks even below that of unskilled labourer.

The young citizens of the German Federal Republic agree only in their valuation of doctors and unskilled labourers, at the top and bottom of all lists respectively. In certain respects there are important differences between West and East. A major in the Federal Army is held in higher regard than his counterpart in the "People's Army" in the East; the office of paid secretary of a youth organization, while not highly considered in the West, is considerably more desirable than that of a secretary of FDJ in the East. Political party officials, not highly regarded in the West, are nevertheless more highly esteemed than Communist (Socialist Unity) Party officials in the East. A police sergeant has considerable prestige in the West, but his equivalent in the People's Police of the East comes very low on the list.

In one respect only does education in the Soviet Zone show more desirable results than in the West—in the valuation of skilled labour. In the West servant), or the position of shopkeeper, are much higher valued than that of, "safe" occupations which either secure the right to a pension (such as civil e.g., a metal turner, an occupation highly rated in the East, where its average of esteem is 13.85, compared with 18.24 in the West. It is even more interesting to note that the position of factory manager is very differently evaluated: in the West this position ranks far higher than that of a metal turner (11.63 to 18.14), while in the East the technical manager of a nationalized undertaking ranks lower (13.85 to 15.03). The fact that refugees after several years in Western Germany differ less in their prestige evaluations from those newly arrived than from young people who have grown up in the West demonstrates that the rigid scale of social values learned before fleeing must be stronger than the sense of social values which they can deduce from the diversified society in which they now live. Their evaluation of occupations even remotely connected with the Eastern régime tends to fall as the length of their stay in the West increases.

Even these few examples show how strong the Communist position is. It must be assumed that the young people who came as refugees oppose the régime of the country which they have left. If in spite of this they still adhere in some cases years after leaving the Soviet Zone to the social values which that system implanted in their minds, the effect of Communist propaganda on those who remain must be tremendous. To realize the power with which Communism can impart its ideas is an essential pre-condition for the success of Western ideas. This reason alone makes Dr. Juraschek's investigation important and its publication urgent.

RICHARD BARKELEY.

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT : A CENTENARY TRIBUTE

**I**N the United States two pieces of wishful thinking, even downright illusions, persisted right throughout the nineteenth century: that an inward-looking Union could avoid all world entanglements, and that absence of international conflicts was the normal condition of life. Yet in fact, even as the Civil War was breaking, the American cocoon was bursting. The follow-up of the ever receding Frontier, the replacement of slave-labour by free labour as the basis of social and political economy, the pressures of the European immigrants, the rapid industrialization of the second half of the century, were in themselves driving the United States towards continental, even imperial power.

Her recent emergence from colonial status and her pre-occupation with Westward development had fostered these two illusions, and it was not until the present century that any considerable section of the people began unwillingly to realize that the New World was not a world on its own, began to grope towards a global policy, and at last was willing to maintain sufficient military force to make such a policy effective. In the closing years of the nineteenth century the high-piping voice of Theodore Roosevelt almost alone proclaimed the creed of the moral responsibility of wealth and power, the indivisibility of the one world, and the maintenance of order abroad as necessary to the maintenance of stability at home. It seems fitting in the centenary year of his birth that we should reject the legend of the flag-waving Yankee Jingo, the "dollar diplomat," and pay homage to the solid and still effective transformation of American government which he carried out, internally and externally.

Between Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt was the only American statesman who really knew what had happened to his country since Appomattox Court House. His Governorship of New York State in 1898 set the example of efficient and honest administration, and his Presidential tenure of 1901-1909 set the American ship of state on a course of international responsibility from which, despite recessions, it has never deviated in principle. Roosevelt's durable reforms have been overlaid by the Kiplingesque caricature of him made both by friends and enemies and, indeed, largely contributed to by himself through his temperamental aggressiveness and the outward trappings of his career. The full-blooded author of *The Winning of the West*, the swash-buckling Cuban "Rough-Rider," the demagogic "Trust-buster," the rumbustious indicter of political, city hall, and "Big Business" corruption have provided the romantic outlines; yet Roosevelt was neither socialist nor imperialist. Despite his fervour on the "stump," he was inwardly as cautious and fearful as Lincoln and, like the first great leader of the "Grand Old Party," he believed in an ordered society and a general policy of gradualism. He campaigned alike against the "lunatic fringe" of extreme radicalism and "the malefactors of great wealth." "I wish," he said towards the end of his life, "to do everything in my power to make the Republican Party the Party of sane, constructive radicalism." At other times he observed that "the only true conservative is the man who resolutely sets his face towards the future."

In his youth young men of wealth and education did not normally take up politics; they wrote books for the Harvard University Press deploring the low moral tone of public life and remained in their libraries and clubs. As to why he became a Republican rather than a Democrat, the reason was a

"slight matter of upbringing" and the fact that Mark Hanna and his like had an edge on "Boss" Tweed and Tammany Hall. Though he elected to do his work through one party, he succeeded in creating a bi-partisan approach to the fundamental problems. Always concerned with the second rather than the two-hundredth step, he was willing to work with and through "do-gooders," "Mugwumps," German-Jewish economists, as well as notorious grafters such as James G. Blaine and "Gas" Addicks, and he was not above appointing an occasional Irish ward-heeler to positions of eminence with adjurations to behave. But, though using the time-honoured instrument of Federal and State patronage, he distributed the favours as widely as he could among all faiths, pressure groups and sectional interests, and gradually weeded out the most notorious abusers of public trust. "The bulk of government," he laid down, "is not legislation but administration." And he insisted on getting the best men for the jobs, by and large, whether they were white or black, Democrat or Republican. Under his impulse a municipal reform removed major corruption from most of the smaller cities and many of the larger, and a Civil Service Commission began to give the Federal Government a body of public servants selected for talent and honesty. Despite his campaigns against the gigantic trusts and holding companies, he was not in fact a "trust-buster." He objected only to business combinations which existed solely to eliminate competition and maintain prices; he agreed to the right of industrial units to combine for the sake of greater efficiency and to improve their service to the public just as he agreed to the right of labour to organize for protection. He began to bring public service corporations, such as water, light and power, under supervision, and the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906 cleaned up the Chicago stock-yards and the canning industry. Measures for factory inspection, workmen's compensation and limitation of hours of work paved the way for the social security measures of his successor: Theodore's "Square Deal" made possible Franklin's "New Deal." It is interesting to note that their bitterest enemies came from the same groups: "the criminal rich and the fool rich do all they can to beat me," observed Theodore. On the primaries he truckled to no one. He defied the Sugar Trust over Cuba, kept the Kaiser out of Venezuela, and was the first American President to be recognized by European Governments as a power equal to themselves.

An early and enthusiastic admirer of Admiral Mahan, he preached and effected the dominance of the Union in the Caribbean, the acquisition of bases in Hawaii, Guam and Puerto Rico, the construction of a Panama Canal, the compulsory rehabilitation of the Cubans and Filipinos. Particularly did he labour to build up the tiny Navy, and sent it for the first time across the Pacific to acquaint the Japanese, cock-a-hoop after their destruction of Russian naval power, that another Great Power intended to use that ocean as its home waters. For twenty years he hot-gospelled for "preparedness," and, despite his Churchillian and boyish delight in the military life, this was not sabre-rattling militarism. Early he suspected the Germans and the Japanese and, though he ultimately thought that "an international *posse comitatus*" might be a possibility one day, he believed that in the meantime it was "incumbent on all civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world." And he intended that the United States should take her part in this task. "It is impossible to treat our foreign policy," he told Congress in 1902, "save as conditioned upon

the attitude we are willing to take toward our army, and especially toward our navy. . . . It is contemptible for a nation . . . to proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force, and then refuse to provide this force." Throughout his Presidential period there was for the first time a tacit Anglo-American understanding. As the two nations most likely to remain at peace with each other for the longest possible time, a silent zoning of peaceful spheres of influence took place without formality of treaty.

We may well forget the last few years of his life. But, if he allowed certain temperamental traits to gain the upper hand and lumped Wilsonian moderates and foreign-born anarchists into one unpatriotic bundle, he advocated compulsory National Insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment. He had builded better than he knew. Even under the (to him) "exceedingly base" Woodrow Wilson, Rooseveltian principles began to transform the Democratic Party and, despite the spasms of isolationist "normalcy" between the two World Wars, his orientation of American Government has been a permanent blessing. What more Rooseveltian acts can be conceived than Franklin's N.I.R.A. and Truman's intervention in Korea! Alternation of parties in power can now mean little more than a shift in emphasis: the underlying "good cause" is always taken care of. Putting aside the criticisms of the cynical and the comic, we may justly salute the voice which cried from underneath the San Juan Ridge: "Gentlemen, the almighty God and the Just Cause are with you. Gentlemen, charge!"

JOHN QUINLAN.

### MENDELSSOHN AND THE ARTS

IT is a phenomenon that many of the great artists are not gifted for one branch of art only. Though a genius tends, as a rule, more to one means of expression, he is often not far from the others. Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Blake, Goethe and Nietzsche are a few examples. Musicians have often shown an inclination to combine writing with composing, and this became a fashion in the nineteenth century. Weber, Liszt, Berlioz, Schumann and Wagner were writers or even poets of considerable merit. An incentive towards this development was given by the Romantic Movement, whose theory was that if different arts were combined, the impact on the human soul would be greater.

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy—whose 150th birthday will be on February 3—did not write a line for publication besides his music. His great number of letters prove that he could easily have become an author above average. His artistic hobby was not writing, but drawing and painting. It is surprising how little about it is mentioned in his biographies, though some books contain reproductions of his drawings and water-colours. If one studies his letters—to his family, Klingemann, Goethe, Zelter, etc.—one sees the important part his intercourse with artists, his appreciation of the great masterpieces, as well as his own drawing and painting have played from early youth to the end of his life. His parental home in Berlin was the

meeting-place for people famous not only in music and literature but in art. His brother-in-law Wilhelm Hensel, his beloved sister Fanny's husband, was a professional painter. His uncle Bartholdy, his mother's brother, was a "maecenas" who commissioned the German "Nazarenes," Overbeck, Veit, Cornelius, Schnorr and Schadow, to execute the frescoes of his "Casa Bartholdy" in Rome. One of them, Phillip Veit, was Felix's first cousin. During his stay in Rome he enjoyed the friendship of a number of well-known artists, Hübner, Bendemann, Hildebrandt, Schadow, Horace Vernet, the Director of the French Academy, and the famous Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen. While he was conductor in Duesseldorf, he lived for some time in the house of Schadow and was in constant touch with the members of the "Malerakademie." His wife Cécile was an accomplished amateur at painting, as his mother had been in her youth.

The influence of professional painters and sculptors made itself felt in Mendelssohn's appreciation of pictures as well as in his own attempts at drawing and painting. Both had been essential features in his education, and a letter of his father from Paris in 1830 on pictures in the Louvre shows how deeply the family was interested in art. Hardly anything gave Felix more pleasure than to look at "an eternal work for the first time." He was grateful to possess the faculty to be refreshed by them. Wherever he was—Munich, Dresden, London, Paris, or Italy—he rarely missed an opportunity to visit a gallery. It is strange how much more often paintings are mentioned in his letters than books, and in Italy he enjoyed "looking much more than hearing." He was convinced that he profited from the latent, the "implicit" music in art not less for his compositions than from listening to the "explicit" one. His favourite among painters was Titian. In three different letters he calls him "a divine man" and his "Ascension" in Venice "the most sublime picture human beings can paint." The "ailing heavenly Raffael" came next. Giorgione was new to Felix, but appealed to him at once. With special love he dived into a tiny painting—"Adoration and Circumcision" in the Uffizi—by Fra Bartolommeo of which he gave a detailed description. "I made friends with the pictures and conversed with them."

Appreciation of art was not all: Mendelssohn drew and painted. It is astonishing how loyal he remained to his hobby throughout his life. He never pretended to be more than an amateur, and he was fully aware of his imperfections. But if one looks at his landscapes, especially his late ones, one agrees with his nephew Sebastian Hensel that he brought back water-colours from Switzerland in 1847 "of which no artist need to be ashamed." Wherever he was, he jotted down his visual impressions. The 11-year-old boy drew Lucas Cranach's house in Weimar; his descriptions of his first trip to England and Scotland were illustrated; his letters from Italy speak constantly of his drawings and paintings, his wish to practice daily and to improve his technique. When he was upset, before his engagement for instance, he could "neither compose nor write letters or play the piano, only draw perhaps a little." His presents to his family consisted frequently of his sketches or paintings. In the summer of 1847, during his deepest depression after his sister Fanny's untimely death and only a few months before his own, he tried to find comfort and spiritual equilibrium in his old hobby.

LOUISE W. LEVEN.

## THE PLIGHT OF BULGARIA

ON December 22, 1957, Bulgaria went through one of those formal exercises which Communist governments like to call "elections," but which do no more than enunciate new slogans and programmes and, at the same time, ensure the "return" of the old cliques to power with its single-party authority undiminished and unchallenged. The 254 members—including no fewer than 72 of the 90-strong Central Committee of the Party—who will sit in Bulgaria's *Sobranje*, had been, in effect, elected on November 25, 1957, when the nomination lists closed on 254 names, one for each constituency, and was approved by the Communist-controlled nation wide organization, the Fatherland Front, the only permitted political organization. Hence the official figures of the results of the elections were interesting but absolutely meaningless; according to *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) of December 25, 99.77 per cent of the electorate took part in the balloting, and the single-slate Front ticket received 5,204,027 votes (99.95 per cent), a better victory claim than that of 1953, when the Government made the biggest-ever claim, 99.8 per cent of those voting "for the régime." The electoral procedure is a good example of the use of political mythology. The Bulgarian voter receives papers bearing only one name. The electoral law—with no sense of farce—solemnly declares that the voter may fill the paper in by crossing out "all the candidates for whom he does not wish to vote"; moreover, to do so he may go to a separate room from which all other persons and officials are excluded by law. To "ensure" the electoral victory, for four weeks prior to the elections party agitators—13,000 on Sofia alone—had campaigned to "popularize the successes of the People's power and the truth of the new life." At the same time, Todor Zhivkov, the Party's First Secretary, warned that, for those who "commit crimes against the national authority and who try to harm the building of socialism or undermine our unity," the régime would remain a proletarian dictatorship which has repeatedly proved "it does not joke" with the opposition. Vulko Chervenkov, though now only a Deputy Premier, is again the strong man ruling Bulgaria, trying to keep the lid on the upsurges of numerous discontents.

Bulgaria's economic woes have been steadily growing. One feature in this grim prospect has been the freezing of wages and salaries by the régime. The workers' pay package falls short of the bare subsistence level even by Bulgarian standards. Recent price reductions on some staples had had little effect, if any, on the purchasing value of the money earned. The worst off is the peasant, followed by the industrial proletariat and the white-collar worker. These three categories make up around 90 per cent of the population. They suffer not only because of the prices, for the quality of most goods turned out beggars description, particularly consumers' goods for the domestic market. High quality products are chiefly exported to the USSR, only a trickle of them is bartered on foreign marts against hard currencies. For more than a decade, exports to the USSR have been sold at prices well under the world market. For instance, a pair of top quality men's shoes are sold at 40 leva to the Soviets, whereas footwear of much lower grade is offered to the Bulgarian consumer at 200 to 240 leva. Since the signing of the so-called Soviet-Bulgarian Trade Agreement of February, 1957, textile plants have been turning out large quantities of clothing. Raw cotton wool and semi-finished fabrics have been steadily flowing from the USSR, reprocessed into finished garments, and shipped back to the USSR. *Ad hoc*



"tailoring co-operatives" had been set up for the purpose, and they have been working on a three-shifts-a-day basis.

In addition to the direct purchases for themselves, the Soviets often act as middlemen between Bulgarian industry and prospective buyers in the Eastern bloc countries; the terms of sale being fixed by the Soviets. In this way, for example, Bulgaria has been supplying Syria with cement and Red China with electric motors, telephones and X-ray equipment. The total result has been a gradual pauperization of the people. The resentment against this situation has been expressed in all domestic sectors. In agriculture forcible collectivization has been carried out more intensively than in any other satellite country of Central-Eastern Europe. At the end of 1957 around 90 per cent of the tillable soil had been collectivized. But the veil over the "unconstrained" collectivization has been recently lifted by Elie Abel, special *New York Times* correspondent, wherein he describes how the régime has had to resort to siege methods against the peasantry. While the use of force had been long suspected, the incidents on the outskirts of Sofia in January, 1958, provided solid confirmation, taking place in the relatively prosperous villages of Dragolevtzi and Semyonov. During the night of January 22-23 both villages were surrounded by squads of Communist party volunteers and policemen armed with machine pistols. When some of the villagers, employed in Sofia factories, tried to board buses for the capital, they were told by the police that they would be allowed to get on buses only if they produced documents showing they had enrolled in a collective farm. Similar cases of persuasion-by-siege have been reported from the villages of Bistritsa and Zhelzhnitsa.

The troubles that the pro-Communist régime has had with the peasantry (although 87 per cent of the country's arable land already belongs to the so-called "Working Peasant Co-operatives") has not been, however, limited to this segment of the population. (According to the census of December 1, 1956, 33.47 per cent of the total population—7,629,254—live in towns, and 66.53 per cent in the villages.) These are the days also of reckoning for Bulgarian men of letters. Pressed by the ruling party, the country's novelists, poets and playwrights had to recant their heretical ideas. The root heresy had been their belief that with the shattering of the Stalin myth in 1956 and the downgrading of Bulgaria's "Little Stalin," Vulko Chervenkov, Communist authors could write as they pleased. Obviously a surprisingly large number slipped the halter of party control, to judge by the list of offenders published by the Communist Press. Some went even so far as to condemn the Soviet Union for crushing the Hungarian revolt and to demand "complete freedom" of the Press. Today Chervenkov, still third-ranking Deputy Premier and Minister of Culture, is settling accounts with the unruly writers. No book may be published, no play produced, without his approval. The recalcitrant members were threatened from the Writers' Union, if not mending their ways immediately. But the threat must have worked, for some of the "deviationists" have got off with reprimands and promises of good behaviour, and the most prominent offender, Emil Manov, has remained a secretary of the Union and editor of a Sofia literary review. But the axe fell on Stefan Stanchev, editor-in-chief of the *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), organ of the Party-dominated Fatherland Front, and Vladimir Topencharov, one of the leading journalists on his staff and brother-in-law of executed "Titoist" Traicho Kostov.

There have also been persistent troubles with students. After two consecutive students' demonstrations in Sofia in January, 1958, more than 1,000 students were rounded up and sent to slave-labour camps. A purge, supervised by the Central Committee of the Party, has been carried out in all schools and universities. Moreover, in order to preclude a popular uprising spearheaded by the youth, the Government has been deporting thousands of young men and women to Siberia and Khazakstan on so-called three-year "voluntary" contracts, to participate, as the official communiqué stated "with the USSR's youth in Communist construction." The police have been instructed to rid the cities, particularly Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas and Varna, of "hooligans and youths with no fixed place of work who carry on immoral modes of life and tend to fall under the influence of the hooligans." The wave of arrests has continued until now, and in recent months has included old people, on charges of "hooliganism"; almost all arrested have been sent to the ill-famed forced labour camp of Belene on the Danube, where a ten-hour day at hard labour is supplemented with compulsory Communist indoctrination.

On the international front, on June 1, 1958, Khrushchev, in his capacity as First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, attended a meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party, his first official visit to that country as head of the Soviet Government. The Soviet rulers have ambitious plans for Bulgaria in regard to the establishment of atom bases there. Work has started on Bulgaria's atomic research centre near Sofia, which will house a 22,000-kilowatt capacity reactor (provided by the USSR); foundations have been laid for a building in which 500 scientists and technicians will live and work. Workmen are busy on the site of the reactor building. According to details officially released in Sofia, the centre will also contain a cyclotron, an institute for experimental physics, laboratories, halls housing electrical plants and equipment, and a house of culture. The blueprints for the atomic centre were drawn up by four Soviet scientists. The building of the five missile bases in Bulgaria (and two in Albania) is aimed to "cover" NATO's sensitive southern flank, the Mediterranean, and part of North Africa.

During the summer the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border opened briefly, and then the feud between both countries was renewed. In the autumn the most strident aggressors in the campaign against Tito were the régimes of Bulgaria and Albania. They revived the ancient spectre of the "Macedonian question," and Yugoslav newspapers have been charging that Bulgaria, as a part of the Soviet bloc's campaign against Tito's Government, is reviving her claim to the Yugoslav-ruled part of classical Macedonia. Bulgarian leaders have been asserting, on the other hand, that Macedonia is Bulgarian and that there is no such thing as a Macedonian people, only Bulgars. A kind of hysteria has been whipped up over the issue, an easy thing to do in Bulgaria, where bitterness over Macedonia has been a policy-making factor for 75 years.

*University of Bridgeport, Connecticut, U.S.A.*



## PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN MEXICO

MEXICO is a country that remains, to Europe, something of an enigma. For decades she turned her back upon the world, determined to solve her own problems in her own often violent way. When, after the disturbed years of revolution, she was ready to face the world once more, the world itself, and Mexico with it, was engaged in total war. Only in the last few years, therefore, has Europe become aware of the immense advance this paradoxical country has been making under cover of finding what her citizens are pleased, somewhat sententiously, to call her "destiny." Suddenly now she is wooed, politically and economically, by the countries of West Europe and by the U.S.S.R.

If economically Mexico is on her feet, this is not to say that life is easy for the greater part of her 32 million inhabitants, most of whom are still scraping a frugal subsistence from eroded and exhausted land, half of whom are still illiterate and living in much the same conditions as have prevailed since the Conquest: unshod, sleeping on rush mats in adobe huts that scarcely keep out the often bitter highland cold or the humid air of the tropics. Nevertheless the last two presidential régimes have seen a growth of a middle class which is lessening the gap between the destitute peasant and the very rich. The rural population has benefited by many government enterprises, including a phenomenal rate of road building, and more schools, hospitals and clinics. The poorer elements in the towns are being absorbed into industries. Simultaneously, a trend toward greater honesty among bureaucrats is allowing more money to flow into channels where it can suitably serve a people hungry for knowledge, eager to acquire modern skills, and quick to do so.

It may seem as if the various disorders last year, strikes of railwaymen, teachers, telegraphists, petroleum workers and others, and also student riots, are an indication that the pace of improvement in living conditions is not fast enough. Probably the opposite is nearer the truth, that speedy development is precisely what is arousing the workers to discontent. It must be taken into account, too, that most of the troubles were provoked by minority groups, incited by Communists and by extreme right-wing parties, who were skilful enough to take advantage of what, if left to itself, would have remained a half-humorous, half-apathetic shoulder-shrugging at the ways of the bureaucrats.

In the long run the disorders, which cost the country considerable sums of money and some temporary discomfort, may have done more good than harm. They served to draw attention to monopolistic habits, and spurred the Senate to investigate two of the most ill-managed industries: forestry and fishing. The new President, Señor Adolfo López Mateos, is well aware of the loudly and often violently-voiced complaints against autocratic pressures from big monopolies and dictatorship from old-established union leaders. He must also know that the various States of Mexico are not going to tolerate the interference of the central Government in their local affairs much longer. The most recent rebellion has come from San Luis Potosí, whose citizens went on total strike, with resulting hardship to themselves, in order to oust an unpopular Governor allegedly imposed upon them by the ruling political party, *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*.

Señor López Mateos may well have to face possible economic crises due to such factors as a rise in the price of diesel oil—which increases the cost of cotton production—and the fall in the price of coffee; for cotton, coffee, lead

and livestock are now Mexico's four largest exports. Oddly, maize ranks second to machinery in the list of imports; and since maize is the staple diet of peasants and townsfolk alike, encouragement to farmers to plant more maize would do much to put Mexico's economy on a more logical basis. At present farmers regard maize as a crop yielding meagre returns, and they relegate it grudgingly to poor land. Petroleum is another import which ranks curiously high, third on the list, for though combustible and crude petroleum are exported, Mexico's consumption of these products is very high and increasing daily.

With industrial growth goes an ebullient vitality which has shown itself in bold experiments in the arts, especially the plastic arts and music. For many years the big four modern painters of Mexico dominated the scene in a quite literal sense. Their macabre materialism gaped from walls of palaces and schools, theatres and restaurants. Pictorial invective was hurled against the Spanish conquerors and against all exploiters of the proletariat, excluding, of course, the bureaucrats and the deified machines of Mexico's tardy industrial revolution. But now Orozco and Rivera are dead. Siqueiros remains to continue the tradition, and also Tamayo, who stands somewhat apart, preoccupied with abstraction and delight in colour. Rivera was a great technician, and it is one of the tragedies of modern Mexico that a man so sensitive to the pathos and beauty of the peasants should have been satisfied to attach his art to ready-made slogans.

There are signs now that the younger artists are breaking free from the influence of these giant figures. In University City there is a mural by Chávez Morado, of leaders of the world religions mounted and flying together on the back of the Plumed Serpent. It is on a low wall serving as a background to a turquoise-blue pool, and it has in its own mosaic way something of the sobriety and quiet of the greatest of all Mexican painters, the nineteenth-century landscape artist, José María Velasco. Chávez Morado takes his inspiration from mysticism; Valesco took his from the romantic movement and return to nature. These are but parallel ways to a contemplative depth which Rivera renounced, which Siqueiros has never possessed, and which in Orozco turned bitter. Other signs that the influence of these three is waning are the tenderness now being lavished by some of the leading architects and artists on modern churches, and the conferring of the Biennial Prize for Painting on Francisco Goitia, a deeply religious though non-sectarian artist.

With such vitality in the plastic arts it is odd that the young generation of writers tend to imitate Europe, delving into their own souls rather than into the exciting new world in which they live. There are notable exceptions, such, for example, as Juan Rulfo, who knows the mestizo villages and writes sensitively about them; or Carlos Fuentes, who has made a daring if not completely successful attempt to fit together the complex mosaic of a growing city; or Rosaria Castellanos, whose very personal novel set at the time of the agrarian reforms and the persecution of the clergy will shortly be published in London.

Nevertheless, many of the most interesting aspects of Mexican life remain unexploited in literature. The Indian tribes who live in the remote mountains, still with their pre-Conquest traditions and with a smouldering resentment against the *ladino*, or semi-absorbed mestizo, have been the subject of books that are more anthropological than literary. It is difficult for town Mexicans to enter into the mentality of these Indians, who are usually repre-

sented as cardboard figures, squatting motionless, saying nothing. Yet even a few days spent in their village reveals a humour, a warmth, and above all a dignity which is difficult to reconcile with their stern witch-hunts or the slow protocol of municipal conclaves.

Theirs is one Mexico. Another, raw in vice but gentle in virtue, is that of the mestizo peasant whose Spanish flows with elegant subjunctives learnt from the parish priest, and whose year is a round of firework festivals and long days of trotting in to markets to sell the meagre produce of the soil or the primitively turned ceramics. Still a third Mexico, growing in importance, is that of the factory worker, newly emancipated and somewhat garish in dress, fond of loud music, spasmodically industrious, acquiring possessions that will soon mark him as middle-class. Over and above these are the growing number of university or polytechnic-trained men and women whom the country is finding no difficulty in absorbing, at least for the time being; though one wonders what will happen in another 10 or 20 years.

Last of all are the rulers, members of the magic circle of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, the only party that counts and therefore the party that has gathered to itself all political talent and all men of social responsibility, as well as those more concerned with their own fame and pockets. The signs point, today, toward growing civic responsibility, and in his inaugural address Señor López Mateos seemed ready to brook no nonsense from those with "merely lucrative" intentions. He is likely to deal severely with any obstruction from either extreme right or extreme left, and Mexico for the next six years will probably continue on a middle course towards a higher standard of living.

IRENE NICHOLSON.

## OIL STATES OF THE PERSIAN GULF

FEW areas in the Middle East are more vulnerable to the activities of trouble-makers than the small, British-protected oil states strung out along the Persian Gulf. Despite their actual and potential wealth, which is considerable by any standards, they are not only militarily weak but some of them at any rate harbour dangerously large elements of malcontents in their disproportionately large minorities of Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian immigrants. It is in this extremity of the Arabian peninsula that some of the ripples from last summer's crisis can be more clearly seen to be still spreading than in almost any other corner of the Arab world. The threat of direct aggression is remote if for no other reason than that British intervention would certainly render it an unprofitable and extremely foolhardy operation. Direct aggression, however, is by no means the only, or even the major, danger confronting the small nations of the modern world. Indeed, as recent history tends to show, it has been all but superseded by the classic and infinitely more insidious formula of subversion and, ultimately, the final, ruthless convulsion of a *coup d'état*.

Disregarding the question of whether or not such tactics could, in the long run, succeed in destroying the integrity of the oil Sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf, it is nevertheless clear that it is the policy now being pursued

in relation to them by some of their more powerful and unscrupulous neighbours. And in the past year at least it is evident that propagandist voices of Cairo and Damascus have made a considerable impact. Egypt is the symbol of success throughout the Arab world today and in no part of it is this more apparent than in some of the Persian Gulf oil states.

Apart from Kuwait and Bahrein, the two most important, these include Qatar and the seven small Sheikdoms which make up the Trucial States. Kuwait, which is barely the size of Wales but has a yearly revenue of more than £100 million from oil alone, is a sovereign state whose rulers have maintained close and friendly relations with Britain since the end of the last century. In return for British support in times of need successive Sheikhs have, among other things, pledged themselves not to receive representatives of foreign powers, or to lease or grant for occupation any part of their territory to another country without British consent. It is a policy which has paid rich dividends. Until the recent past Kuwait was little more than a small, feudal desert state dependent almost entirely on its pearling and fishing fleets. Today, thanks to oil, it is one of the wealthiest and most progressive countries in the Middle East. Its population of 250,000, of whom fully half are foreigners, enjoy a standard of living far in advance of most of their neighbours. Democracy may still be in its infancy, but education, medical and a whole range of other social services are free. Piped water, electricity, good roads and no shortage of large, fast American cars to ply them, are some of the other amenities of the twentieth century which have been made possible by oil. One of the most astonishing aspects of Kuwait's sudden access to riches is that commercial production of oil did not start until after the last war. Since then output has jumped spectacularly from two million tons in 1947 to 54 million tons in 1956. New and as yet, unplumbed sources discovered in the north as well as increased production in the neutral zone which is shared with Saudi Arabia, are bound to swell the national wealth still further. In the light of such affluence it is small wonder that so many covetous looks should be cast towards the head of the Persian Gulf.

Bahrein, the principal of a group of islands with a total area of about 200 square miles and a population of 125,000, also owes its newly-found prosperity to oil, though to a far lesser extent than Kuwait. The huge refinery built 20 years ago draws only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million tons a year from the Bahrein field, compared with  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million which come by pipeline from the American oilfields in Saudi Arabia. No crude oil is exported. Bahrein's importance, besides its oil, is that it is the headquarters of the British political administration for the whole of the Gulf and the seat of the British Political Resident. It is also a valuable naval, military and air base in times of emergency. Since the days of Portuguese supremacy in the early sixteenth century, the island has been either claimed or occupied by Persia, Turkey and Egypt. The Persians, who were driven out in 1783, still press their claim to sovereignty.

A Bahrein visa stamped in a passport is alone enough to ensure refusal of permission to enter the dominions of the Shah. The foundations of Britain's friendship with the rulers of Bahrein were laid nearly a century ago. The amicable relations that have since existed between the two countries are governed by a series of treaties and agreements. Under these Bahrein is assured of British support against external aggression and, for her own

part, has undertaken to abstain from war, piracy and slavery by sea. Despite the striking social and economic progress that has been made possible by oil revenues currently running at the rate of some £5 million a year, the political climate of Bahrein is less tranquil than it appears on the surface. Agitation for reform which has undoubtedly been fanned from without, has erupted into ugly scenes of violence several times in the past four years. Some of these demonstrations, particularly during the Suez crisis, have been openly anti-British in character. In some respects such manifestations would be infinitely less surprising in Kuwait, where pan-Arab nationalism, due principally to the crusading zeal of 500-600 Egyptian teachers who staff the schools, is more strongly in evidence. No such infiltration has occurred in Bahrein, but there, too, the emotional appeal of Arab unity, kept at fever pitch by Cairo Radio, exercises an immense and growing influence on the minds and emotions of the masses. Two years ago British troops had to intervene to quell serious disturbances stirred up by a political organization known as the Committee of National Union. Three of its leaders were sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment, which they are now serving on St. Helena. Peace has since prevailed in Bahrein. There is little likelihood of its being seriously threatened again, at any rate in the foreseeable future.

Qatar, which is about the size of Israel, has a mere 35,000 inhabitants, most of whom live in the capital town of Doha. Less than ten years have elapsed since the first shipment of oil was made from the Qatar oilfields. Since then production has jumped from 4½ million tons in 1954 to the current level of about eight million tons. As in Kuwait and Bahrein, oil has brought undreamt of wealth to the Qataris. Seven years ago there was nowhere to be found a hospital, an asphalt road, a school, electricity or piped water. Today, by virtue of an annual development grant of more than £3 million, all these amenities exist.

One of the most modern hospitals in the world has recently been built in Qatar at a cost of £3½ million. Revenue from oil, which is Qatar's only source of income is currently running at nearly £20 million a year. If the off-shore concessions now being explored fulfil expectations it is certain to rise still more steeply. Though Qatar is an independent state her foreign affairs are conducted by Britain, which has been for many years the protecting power and guarantor of the State's integrity. A British adviser assists the ruler. No serious unrest or agitation has disturbed the peace of Qatar for a long time. But as in most other parts of the Middle East, political awareness is sharpening and it is beginning to find expression.

The Trucial States, which consist of a vast tract of barren and inhospitable desert covering some 30,000 square miles, are not yet producers of oil. Their wealth, if such a term can properly be applied to the empty wastes of the parched desert, is still derived from the age-old industries of pearling, boat-building and fishing. But the search for oil, not without a reasonable hope of success, is being vigorously pursued. Prospecting is being carried out by two British companies, one on land and one on the off-shore concessions off Abu Dhabi. Its discovery and exploitation seem merely a matter of time. And, as in the case of Kuwait, Bahrein and Qatar, the rise of the ugly, functional-looking derricks over yet another expanse of arid Arabian sand must inevitably signal the beginning of a new epoch for the 80,000 inhabitants of the Trucial States. It would, among other things, mark the zenith of a close and fruitful relationship between the Sheikhs of the Trucial

States and Britain, which has now endured for more than a century. In the final analysis Britain's stake in the Persian Gulf remains immense. From it she undoubtedly derived considerable advantage; equally she has conferred immense benefits on the peoples of one of the most neglected and under-developed regions of the world. The indications are that despite the machinations of her enemies her influence will remain preponderant for a long time to come.

G. F. EVANS.

### THE POETRY OF EDITH SITWELL

DAME EDITH SITWELL, the foremost poetess of this age, has obtained inspiration from countless sources, especially from medievalism and the mystery of death. In most of her poems where she mentions death she takes a materialistic attitude and deals chiefly with the decay of the physical body.

"The Worm said, 'I am small. My redness is from Adam.  
But conquerors tall  
Come to my embrace as I were Venus. I  
Am the paramour in the last bed of love, and mine, the kiss  
That gives Eternity'."

Nature, in all its great diversity of form, interests Miss Sitwell. The modern poet is inclined to overlook the wonders of the Animal and Plant Kingdom and is wholly dependent upon the animals, plants and inorganic of Man. But Man has evolved through countless ages from the Animal Kingdom and is wholly dependant upon the animals, plants and inorganic materials of this planet.

"... the Hen—the musty, dusty density—  
The entity of primal, final, flightless winged Stupidity."  
"... The snowflake's star can see  
Its ephemeral cold in the eternity  
Of the rock-crystal's six rays. . . ."

If one's philosophy of Life has a biological basis one can easily become fatalistic, for one may admire the wonders of Nature and yet know that they are only temporary, they will change. One cannot ignore the cyclic changes that all Nature's miracles undergo.

"The rhythms of our lives  
Are those of the ripening, dying of the seasons.  
Our sowing and reaping in the holy fields,  
Our love and giving birth—then growing old  
And sinking into sleep in the maternal Earth, mother of corn, the  
wrinkled darkness."

One must not think that although Miss Sitwell claims an affinity with medievalism her poems are conceived in a style typical of that historical period. Far from it for her poems show a modernistic originality. A genius must strive at originality. It is of no use, especially in this time of very critical reviews of the Arts, to write poetry similar to that composed by a poet of a bygone age. The present century has shown a great development in originality in the Arts. It has been an age of experimentation—



experiments by painters such as Picasso, Picabia and Dali, experiments in literature as seen in the works of Gertrude Stein, James Joyce, Dylan Thomas and William Faulkner. Dr. Sitwell has also experimented and her experiments have brought new sounds, but not discordant ones. She has preserved the delicacy of words that has always been associated with poetry.

Early poetry stressed the rhyming of the end words of lines in certain set patterns. The Romantics still used this, but made words express the deep emotions of Mankind. Dr. Sitwell retains the rhyming of words, but creates her own pattern of rhyming. She does not use blank verse for that she abhors and states that it is merely prose cut as with scissors into lines.

Dr. Sitwell does not ignore the sentiments that words convey, but to her the thing of paramount importance is the sound of words, the sequence of them—dissonance, the similar sounds of various consonants—assonance, similar sounding vowels in consecutive words. In this respect she shows an affinity to Arthur Rimbaud and Gertrude Stein. The Romantics specialized in using words for emotional expressions, but is this their only use? Edith Sitwell shows in her poems what can be done with words. She demonstrates how words can express the rhythms of dances, from stately old-fashioned waltzes to gay modern foxtrots. It is in the earlier poems of Dr. Sitwell that one finds an attempt to express dance rhythms by words, especially in the well-known collection of poems called "Facade," made popular by the addition of music to them composed by William Walton. Not the crinolined waltz of the days of Johann Strauss, but the rather bizarre waltz of the "naughty-nineties" is expressed by:

"Daisy and Lily

Lazy and silly

Walked by the shore of the wan grassy sea

Talking once more 'neath a swan-bosomed tree."

What shows the jerky rhythm of the foxtrot better than the poem of that name?

"Old

Sir

Faulk

Tall as a stork

Before the honeyed fruits of dawn were ripe,

Would walk."

Besides using words to form the basis of musical rhythms and glorifying in their individual sounds, Dr. Sitwell experimented with metaphor and simile. Here one sees an affinity between her work and that of Gerald Manley Hopkins. To use her own words she indulged in "heightened imagery"—a movement towards surrealism in poetry. This achieved by assonance, dissonance and by unusual similes.

"The wind like a lunatic in a fouled

Nightgown, whipped those rags and howled."

"Hoarse as a dog's bark

The heavy leaves are furled."

If the early poems of Dame Edith Sitwell are mostly concerned with the sounds of words and the rhythms they give—mere words strung

together to give a pretty jingle—her later poems show depths of philosophical speculation. Dr. Sitwell sits back and detachedly looks at Life.

"I, an old woman whose heart is like the Sun  
That has seen too much, looked on too many sorrows.  
Yet not weary of shining fulfilment and harvest  
Heard the priests that howled for rain and the universal darkness,  
Saw the golden princes sacrificed to the Rain-god,  
The cloud that came, and was as small as the hand of Man."

In the above extract it is interesting to note that Dr. Sitwell mentions the fact that always occurs in legends of African and other racial rain-makers that the first rain-cloud that they evoke is small. The ways of primitive tribes have been a source of inspiration to Dr. Sitwell. "Gold Coast Customs" is a long poem that tells of the ceremony of killing poor people in Ashantee so that human blood is obtained to wash the bones of a deceased rich person. Miss Sitwell has great admiration for all the beauties of Nature but also sees the harsh, cruel natural laws that sometimes come into force, the torture imposed by the strong on the weak and the sadistic streak that runs through all humanity. She is horrified at the cruelty that goes on in the World, a cruelty that has remained throughout the centuries, the cruelty that nailed Christ to the Cross, inflicted a World War on civilized nations and has now culminated in the advent of the atomic bomb.

The latest poems of Dame Edith Sitwell are scientifically constructed and are not flimsy structures born of emotional and philosophical intuitions, but the outpourings of a veritable wealth of knowledge. In the first six verses of "The Shadow of Cain" we observe a poetical discourse on the alternations of Ice Ages and Tropical Ages in the prehistoric World, a philosophical reference to Time as expounded by Lorenz Oken in his "Elements of Philosophy" and a mention of the vast continent, termed by geologists Godwanaland, that once linked Africa, Asia and South America.

"And now in memory of great oscillations  
Of temperature in the epoch of the Cold,  
We found a continent of turquoise, vast as Asia  
In the yellowing airs of the Cold; the tooth of a mammoth;"

Scattered throughout the rest of this remarkable poem are references to sources as divergent as Paracelsus, John Donne's "Sermons," Burnet's "Theory of the Earth" and an eye-witness account of the atom-bomb explosion at Hiroshima.

Henry Miller states that there are obsessive, repetitive words that a writer uses that are more revealing than all the facts that are amassed by patient biographers. "Sun" is a favourite word of Dr. Sitwell. Most of her poems contain it. The sun supplies the earth with life-giving properties, without its light comes famine, with it the green grass sprouts, the corn ripens and the earth rejoices in fruitfulness.

"I am Fire. See, I am the bright gold  
That shines like a flaming fire in the night—the gold-trained planet.  
The laughing heat of the Sun that was born from darkness—  
Returning to darkness—I am fecundity, harvest."

The Sun is Life, is youth, is warmth and its opposites are the words, "death," "old," "cold." Again these are frequently used as Dr. Sitwell

comments on the rhythmic pattern of Nature, the resurrection in the Spring and the cold tomb of death in the Autumn.

Dame Edith Sitwell stands aloof from her poetry. Her own feelings gently filter through masked by correspondances to the Earth and to the Heavens. She holds her own emotions in restraint. To her poetry is not a medium for pouring out the soul. She does not present her soul laid bare as does Baudelaire. She does not fill her poems with personal sufferings as does Rimbaud. She sees Life as a whole and her interpretation of Life is her only emotional contribution. Truly does she comment on her own poetry:

"My poems are hymns of praise to the Glory of Life."

MERVYN D. COLES.

## PLANT BREEDERS

**A**MONG the greatest benefactors of mankind, there is a breed of dedicated and doggedly perseverant men, who have remained all too unjustly unsung, despite their terrific achievements. The untiring efforts of these plant-breeders have made two ears of corn grow where only one—or none at all—grew before. They have been instrumental in developing for us ever bigger, better, more pest-free plants, yielding more nutritious vegetables, larger and tastier fruit, lovelier flowers. Take the Sonders, a father-and-son team. For past aeons, mankind struggled against a murderous and invisible barrier—that of the early frost, which kept killing all vegetation, often enough within a matter of days within its coming into fruitfulness. Thus, until the turn of the twentieth century, the cultivation of wheat was confined to a narrow belt in Canada, running all along her Southern frontiers with the U.S. This accounted for the fact that thousands upon thousands of acres of an otherwise quite fertile land remained by and large unproductive, and thus sparsely settled. And yet, who knows, even in Canada, the names of Charles and William Sonder, the hybridists, who succeeded in pushing the invisible icy barrier hundreds of miles up North? This has simply meant the opening to the plough and mass-settlement of the vast expanses of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan—now forming one of the main breadbaskets of mankind.

Some 60 years ago, William Sonder heard of the remarkable earliness of the rugged Hard Red Calcutta wheat, which enabled the Indian farmers to grow it right on the slopes of the lofty Himalayas. But its poor yield made it hardly a paying proposition for intensive cultivation. The hybridist set out doggedly to combine the earliness of the Hard Red Calcutta with the far larger yield of the Red Fife wheat, a strain already in cultivation in Southern Canada. Year after year, he sought to race the progeny of both parent-strains against the clock. In 1903, Dr. Charles Sonder, his son, came up with a single ear of their new Marquis strain, which at long last beat Ol' Jack Frost by six days to the draw. On top of it all, the new variety was to prove by 20 per cent more prolific than its next runner-up. Nowadays, that ONE ear of corn, developed 56 years ago, boasts descendants that fill well over half a milliard of bushels year in, year out! The tomato, a

sub-tropical plant, has always been associated with sunny Italy, although Mexico boasts the honour of having given birth to it. "Nonsense!" thought to himself Dr. F. J. Yeager, from the Agricultural College of New-Hampshire, U.S.A. "People in Northern lands need even more a ready supply of vitamin C. It would be far more convenient to allow them to grow tomatoes than citrus-fruit." So, for years, he raced the cherry-cheeked affair against the clock. The result? Now you could grow his Farthest North tomato as far north as Iceland. But that Northern tomato of his has the drawback that you have got to look at it through a magnifying-glass to see it at all. Charles Walkoff, Senior Horticulturist at the Marsden Experimental Station, Canada, decided to take up where "Doc" Yeager had left off. He set out to blow that marble of a Farthest North into tennis-ball size, while still retaining its earliness. He has now come up with Erli-North, which yields fruit weighing anything up to 16 oz. each, and is almost as early as its parent strain. Now truck-farmers are cashing in on it in Central Canada. Not sleeping on his laurels, Walkoff is bent currently on pushing his red tennis-ball as far North as the Yukon Territory and Alaska. Perhaps he may walk off with this, perhaps not. It might prove unfeasible to combine both earliness and hugeness into a single variety that far up North. Nothing daunted, Walkoff keeps trying just the same.

Hybridists are never happier than when you put them to developing a new strain for you, made over to your own specifications and presenting some of the choicest and toughest breeding nuts to crack. Take that smallholder who meant to grow winter-squash on his handkerchief-sized suburban allotment, without the vines sprawling all over the place, depriving him of much-needed space to grow other vegetables on. He put the poser to "Doc" Yeager, who gleefully rubbed his hands. The result? You can now grow his Baby Blue on a window-box, for it bears its 3-lb. fruit right on the stem. This encouraged our friend to specialize in correcting the rambling, wasteful prodigality of nature. He cut down the watermelon from 30 to three pounds, so as to accommodate it snugly not only in a backyard garden, but also in an average refrigerator. On top of it, his New Hampshire Midget has a delicious flavour, a bountiful production, and is more disease- and pest-resistant than the mammoth varieties. No wonder it has been singled out for the All-America Gold Medal, the highest recognition that a vegetable can receive. It has also earned for its creator the nickname of "Wizard of the Vegetable-Patch." Nor has good "Doc" Yeager stopped there his benefactions in custom-building vegetables to meet our cramped conditions. His new sweet corn, which he has called Golden Midget, has a smaller cob than the standard type, is more tender and is characterized by a delicious flavour. If you like gherkins and savouries, Minnesota No. 12 is just the thing for you. These cucumbers grow only to four inches, are of a smooth tender-green hue, and put all the tastes of spring in your mouth. At a pinch, you need here again only a window-box, for you can reap a bountiful crop from a single vine, producing fruit in clusters. But you have no inkling at all of all the hard toil that lies behind such great achievements. It takes a true poet, endowed with vision and intuition, to present the world with such worthy novelties, showing such vast improvements in every respect over their predecessors.

Of course ever since the excellent Austrian monk Mendel discovered, some 80 years ago, the genetics law that rightly bears his name, the work of the hybridist has been rendered somewhat easier. But, despite all genetics and chromosome tables, he has to pray nervously for Lady Luck to take a big hand. His main difficulties stem from the fact that he seeks to influence decisively things so tiny that nobody has ever been able to see them—the inheritance-shaping genes. It would take a microscope four times as powerful as the most powerful one now in existence to have a good look at those elusive genes. For all their invisibility we know that they exist for we are confronted with their effects, and this holds true also for the, as yet, invisible viruses. Only to these genes can be ascribed the fact that the main traits of animals and plants are transmitted from generation to generation. Every living organism is made up of cells. Each cell has a nucleus and, inside that nucleus, are minute thread-like affairs going by the name of chromosomes. These chromosomes are matched in pairs, the number of which may vary even between varieties belonging to the same species. The all-important genes your hybridist has to pin down stretch like beads on a string in the chromosome. We know that each of these genes will go to influence a particular trait in the next generation; but which shapes which? "The genes determine decisively whether the being-to-be will be male or female, fair or dark, will have a roman or a hawk nose, a thin or thick skin. The role of the parents stops no sooner than when two germs have been brought into contact," Jean Roastand, France's foremost biologist, told this writer.

This applies also to plants, for they breed true, too. Still the plants to be brought together in a new strain must be near blood relatives, to pass readily to their offspring the favourable traits your hybridist is out to enhance. Take a concrete example. Francis "Wizard of Rose" Meilland, the famous French rosarian, is currently bent on developing the true-blue rose, which has been haunting the dream of hybridists for these past 150 years. Starting from certain bi-colour roses such as Ampere and Fantastique, at once yellow and deep violet red, he has succeeded in building up into Prelude, their progeny, a constant Parma violet, and is now turning that violet blue through an oxidizing process. The very gradual change in colour has been obtained through crossing parent-strains of the same colours AND completing each other harmoniously. While the mother-variety transmits to the progeny the size and shape of its blooms, the male parent—*id est*, the pollen-giver—controls its colour scheme. Besides the above traits, many are the genes that influence in the next generation floriferousness, drought-resistance, hardihood, freedom from disease, etc. All such characteristics cannot possibly be transmitted as a result of a single cross. To get over that hurdle Meilland resorts to a system, known as "backcrossing." After picking up the more violet progeny, he crosses it many times over with the early parent selected for its violet colour, so as to secure the maximum of genes controlling colour. He simultaneously cultivates a backcross to early parent with the better-shaped blooms. He will eventually mix up the genes of both parent-strains to get into the new variety as many genes controlling colour and shape as possible.

Beautifully simple in theory, is it not? But Meilland reckons that it will perhaps take him 30 years to develop the true-blue rose. Many are the

stumbling blocks in his path. The main one stems from the fact that genes have a most perverse way of clinging like grim death together in peculiar clusters. A cluster may well include genes favourable from the colour viewpoint, but also some villain responsible, say, for misshapen blooms. This particular gene-linkage must be broken down. It will take hundreds, perhaps thousands, of further cross-pollinations to achieve. But lo and behold! Those stubbornly perverse genes have recombined in yet another awkward linkage affecting adversely floriferousness, or mildew-resistance, or weather-hardihood and so on and so forth. The combination of adverse patterns is well-nigh endless. Do you grasp why Lady Luck should take such a big hand in eliminating ALL adverse inheritance-shaping genes in ALL clusters? And do not forget that at each subtle change in colour the whole blessed show must have a repeat performance. Small wonder that a new variety, showing definite improvements over its predecessors, should come in a ratio of one to 16,666 on an average. Thus the hybridist's is a labour of love and dogged perseverance.

Marseilles.

MAURICE MOYAL.

### LA FONTAINE'S DEBT TO THE EAST

FRENCH critics did French literature a great disservice when they expressed the opinion that La Fontaine does not "travel." He had passed away in 1695. Only 39 years later an anonymous author wrote a notice of his life and translated his Fables into English. That was proof positive that he was a good traveller. While his countrymen were unfair, foreigners have for three centuries been seeing him in all his grandeur. Every now and again he has been translated into English. The best translation, that of Sir Edward Marsh,<sup>(1)</sup> dealt a death blow to theory that he is "not for export." A scholar of extraordinary industry and ability, he understood each and every word written by La Fontaine. Whenever he felt that he would not be using the proper expression in his translation he sought the advice of learned friends, among them Edmund Gosse.

It is regrettable indeed that so good a judge should have taken an extravagant point of view while considering what were the sources of La Fontaine's Second Book of Fables. His *Contes et Nouvelles en vers* appeared in 1665 and the first six books of his *Fables choisies mises en vers* in 1668. What established his reputation as a fabulist was the Second Collection of Fables published in 1678-1679. In his notice he stated: "I have not thought it necessary here to set forth my reasons or mention the sources from which I have drawn my latest themes. I will say, as in gratitude bound, that I owe the greater part of them to the Indian Sage Pilpay. His book has been translated into all languages." He was full of gratitude for Aesop when he wrote his first collection. In the second his allegiance is transferred to Pilpay. His assertion made in good faith perplexed Marsh who writes that out of "the ninety Fables in Books VII—XI (counting *The Horoscope* as two) only seventeen are certainly 'Pilpayan,' and not more than twenty-five, at the most liberal



reckoning, can be assigned to any Eastern source, while forty-five are definitely 'Aesopic.' Books VII-XI, also known as the Second Collection of Fables, are one and indivisible. Marsh tries to dissect what does not lend itself to dissection. Looking upon this second book as a connected whole as he did, La Fontaine was convinced that he owed it to the East, and to him Pilpay was synonymous with the East.

As the reader starts reading he comes across names like Ind, Hindoo, Ganges, Mahomet, Sultan, Japan, Pasha, Vizier, Moslem, Moghul, Surat, Dervish, Persian, Brahmin—names that sum up the whole East. He is dazzled. La Fontaine was similarly dazzled when he met the French traveller Bernier who was often engaged in lively conversations at Madame de la Sablières salon. A new distraction came into his life, and India was an evergreen topic of conversation there. Marsh does not take account of Bernier when he enumerates the sources of the Fables. He agrees that La Fontaine did read Pilpay's *Livre des Lumières ou la Conduite des Royes*. He does not deny that he had known a similar collection in Latin, the *Speculum Sapientiae Indorum Veterum*, published in 1666. The collection of stories that had been translated into several Asian and European languages was Vishnu Sharma's *Panchatantra*. *Calila and Dimna* is the name of its Arabic version. In France the *Panchatantra* was known as the *Fables of Pilpay*. The Persian version was entitled *The Lights of Canopus*. Hence the French title *Le Livre des Lumières*, the other name by which the *Panchatantra* was known to the French.

La Fontaine was reading Aesop half-heartedly when he came across Pilpay's Fables which disclosed a new world to him. He was in excellent spirits and the event overshadowed everything else. He utilized the book to the full and came under the spell of the East. A second La Fontaine was born. It is this second La Fontaine who has enriched French literature. To have the true measure of his powers one must go to the Second Collection. In the second series he is much more lyrical. The fables are lengthier, and his marvellous poetic gifts are better displayed. He does not go back to Greek and Latin models nor has he recourse to the Middle Ages or Marie de France's *Ysoper*. Now when the theme is Aesopic the treatment is Pilpayan. In this book which is a collection of mature fables, he says explicitly that the Eastern legend is being laid under contribution.<sup>(2)</sup> He mentions Pilpay in the fable entitled "Mouse into Maiden." He now "finds in the Indian religion, in the Indian story what he had found with difficulty in France, viz., a nature and animals that are naturally garrulous."<sup>(3)</sup>

It must be obvious to any reader that the characters in the second series of fables are for the most part animals. Among those animals the Indian ones play a prominent role. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the cow that is adored by the Hindu, the snake, the tortoise, the leopard, and other Indian animals come in quick succession. The very idea that it is possible for man to imagine that birds and beasts speak is Indian, for the Indian believes in the theory of the transmigration of souls. In the first book he had imitated Aesop almost slavishly. In the second he is a different poet and becomes his true self. He looked upon the second book as his *magnum opus* and called it the "favourite book." Madame de Sévigné found the right praise for it when she pronounced it "divine." So the view that at most only 42 fables of the second book strike an Eastern note is erroneous. Such a view is based, at least partly, on the supposition that the book lacks unity

of impression, for the idea of metamorphosis pervades the whole book. The pantheistic spirit and the spirit of adventure, which are the very soul of the Indian story, are the distinguishing marks of this collection which is different from what went before and was to come after.

In his notice La Fontaine hints that in the second series he will not follow Aesop. "I have thought fit to give most of them (the fables) a slightly different air and turn from that which I gave to the earlier group." And he kept his word.

Had Marsh borne in mind that the French fabulist did not aim at mathematical precision, that he was concerned with the "air and turn" of the Second Collection rather than with the number of fables of which it is composed, he would not have been severe beyond measure. Marsh went a long way in creating a taste among English readers for the fables, but he has not gone far enough. He who maintained that La Fontaine did travel would have given added force to his irrefutable arguments by stating that the fabulist travelled because he was in good company. The East, his fellow-traveller, urged him to travel. Eastern fables have been migrating from age to age, and his association with the East is responsible for the fact that he travelled. To forget Bernier is to forget that during the reign of Louis XIV literary creation became associated with curiosity to know the East. That curiosity had been awakened, among others, by Bernier.<sup>(4)</sup>

Mauritius.

B. BISSOONDOYAL.

(1) *La Fontaine's Fables*. Translated into English Verse by Sir Edward Marsh. Dent.

(2) *The Rat in the Hermitage* (VII, 3).

(3) Jean Giraudoux, *Les cinq tentations de la Fontaine*. Grasset.

(4) Raymond Schwab, *La renaissance orientale*. Payot.

### SILVER-BIRCH LOGS

*A silver birch that wrings a grace  
From the stoniest wild is comely enough  
To the passing glance in a sunlit place,  
But never till need of fire compelled  
My closest acquaintance with her bark  
Was I aware what beauty was felled.  
Ingots of silver, a treasure trove  
That long had gathered from under seas  
The rarest flushing of rose and clove,  
Rusts of Corinthian bronzes, greens  
That her living moss in miniature  
Reflected, as when a peacock preens—  
So glimmered and shimmered the logs I sawed  
And piled, where now an emptiness ached,  
And the let-in firmament overawed.  
I sat by the hearth as guilty as one  
Who burns a palace to warm himself  
And watches its molten colours run;  
And long, long after flames licked high  
In triumph over the steaming limbs,  
I heard a dryad's expiring sigh.*

GEOFFREY JOHNSON

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## ATOMIC WAR

Those who read this symposium would be well advised to read Dr. Jongk's *Brighter than a Thousand Suns*, also published by Gollancz. It will emphasize the gravity of our responsibilities. I know some extremely eminent soldiers who are as civilized men as I have met. Jongk, however, indicates that there are "anthropoid" types who, if they have a new weapon, feel almost an impulsion to use it. We come back here to the old democratic proposition (which, indeed, has contemporary bearings in Cyprus) that civilians must have almost despotic control over the military. Further, I would be prepared to argue, along with Mr. Toynbee, that the danger of this country is such, in the front line, that it must have representation along with risk; that maybe, as Mr. Peter Thorneycroft has suggested, we should "functionalise our weaponry" and ourselves build for conventional, not nuclear warfare (at all costs preventing, for example, the Swiss selling "atom bombs for all"). The mothers of America have an unpleasant responsibility when, from anxiety about their boys, they surge towards the adoption in principle of monstrous "press-button" warfare. This ironically can destroy, first, industrial America.

This said, agreement ends. It profits little to examine the "might-have-beens" of history or whether Hitler should not have been allowed to destroy Stalin. This writer was against it. Let us, again, grant that the one, sole, scientific answer is world government. What is of more relevance is Stalin's remark to Roosevelt: "We neither of us want war but you are more afraid of it than we are, and there we have the edge on you." We come up against "the last things," the values of life and death. This reviewer also sees nothing morally wrong in Communism as such, for example, in the pure form of the *Kibbutzim* in Israel. He sees much wrong in the police tyranny of the Kremlin and the less competent one of Hitler. Had our chances been even thinner than they were, ought we to have surrendered to Hitler? Just that is the issue. At the St. James's Palace Conference Ribbentrop was not treated with bows as a person to whom we must be courteous: he was treated more like a criminal before a bar. We indicated that we did not fear war. Mr. Khrushchev is of the same metal. Or perhaps three hundred years of political fight for liberty have not been worthwhile. Maybe a liberal church of the catacombs will survive, in the style spoken of by Dr. Arnold Toynbee. And maybe not.

The use of any uncontrolled weapons, such as a fall-out that can poison the earth—the use of any weapon whatsoever of mass massacre for sectional ends—is diabolical. This condemnation holds even if Stalin could sacrifice over two million human beings rather than surrender to Hitler; and, again, even if (as a matter of statistical proportion) in 20 years modern medical drugs have saved more lives from death by disease than have been lost by war in all the history of mankind. The controlled weapon may be good or bad according to the justice of its use. There is an important virtue of justice, as well as of charity. It is subsidiary who kills or (as Socrates said) is killed. As we consider Mr. Philip Toynbee's "fearful choice," we must say that, were nuclear weapons used effectively to establish a world government of freedom and of social justice—even for Arabs or Africans—they could be justified. The burning by incendiaries of thousands in Dresden was no more merciful: it was less merciful. If this threat were used to maintain a stalemate until reason and pity could do their work, it would be more justified. And the fearful choice Mr. Toynbee's friends must recognize is for those who would, even by a hair's breadth of relaxation, weaken the retaining walls of that stalemate, be it Americans alone or others also who provide buttress against the flood.

GEORGE E. G. CATLIN

*The Fearful Choice*. By Philip Toynbee, the Archbishop of Canterbury and others. Gollancz. 8s. 6d.

## FRANCE AND ALGERIA

Germaine Tillion offers the compulsions of reasoned analysis and practical solution, when so many books on Algeria are seared by accusing emotions. She speaks with scientific authority, having worked in the Bled, in the Resistance, and on the Committee against Concentration Régimes. She sweeps aside legendary clichés like Nationalism, Colonialism and Arab League, and states the case for France and Algeria with passionate impartiality. Algeria was French before Nice and Savoy. France occupied Algeria before Britain had New Zealand. And France has carried out her mission civilisingly. She has eradicated malaria, typhus and typhoid; checked famine and tribal war. Her financial contribution has been generous. Since 1947 she has contributed in North Africa four times the amount the U.S.A. has devoted to the entire Four Point Programme. Yet the result has not been gratitude but hostility. Why?

French industry supports nearly half a million Algerian workers and by their remittances some two million more. Every other grown worker in Algeria has worked in France. *Colons* do indeed include millionaires but the bulk are employees and farmers. Algeria relies for her very existence on France's administrative and industrial systems. Should France withdraw from Algeria and set up a European Reservation, it would mean the destruction of Algerian economy, while the Reservation would wither. She would be abandoning to their fate a people who having put up or suffered from her governance are now incapable of doing without it. "For it is the unforeseen and unintentional consequence of colonial rule, for which France can feel both responsible and innocent as those who are its victims, that colonization by an industrialized power of a people in a rural economy breaks social harmony and intensifies a biological revolution." Wars against illiteracy and generous distribution of surpluses have but resulted in the submersion of Algerian skills and traditions and increased population. Contact with the heart-breaking superiority of French techniques has dispirited and impoverished them. The very good the French sought hastened the evils they sought to avert. France and Algeria are doomed to live together. A separation would be an amputation. The solution lies not in independence but in the creation of a Franco-Algeria community. To attain reconciliation France should adopt a three point programme: invest some 2,000 billion francs over five years, for universal education, the creation of work for 300,000 more Algerians by the intensive development of the Sahara, and agrarian reform—it would be cheaper than an army of occupation; mobilise graduates from her administrative and agricultural schools for two years' compulsory service in Algeria, and maintain Algerian entry into French factories. If accompanied by political concessions healing and consolidation would follow. By its sincerity and humanity this book is an important contribution to the solution of a problem that affects colonialism and race-relations the world over.

VICTOR COHEN

*Algeria, the Realities.* By Germaine Tillion and translated by Ronald Matthews, Eyre and Spottiswoode. 10s. 6d.

## LABOUR POLITICS

As a fact of history the Labour Movement has an unchallengeable importance. It is right therefore that it should receive the attention of academic students, though to follow in the steps of Cole and the Webbs must be a bold undertaking. The first of these books takes a wide sweep of industrial history from the establishment of the T.U.C. to the widening of the Parliamentary Committee into the General Council. It adds little to the data already available, though Mr. Roberts dissents from some of the Webb judgments, notably their hostility to critics of the Junta and to the Parliamentary Committee itself. In

broad outline it is a success story. At the first Congress at Manchester in 1868, there were 34 delegates representing 118,000 members. At the jubilee Congress at Derby, 881 delegates represented 4½ million members. But within this outline are revealed all the dilemmas and cross purposes which have made up the chequered but fascinating history of the Movement.

The other two books are intensive studies of particular operations and both offer an impressive display of original material. Messrs. Bealey and Pelling throw light on six years also covered by Mr. Roberts from the establishment of the Labour Representation Committee to the emergence of a fully organized Parliamentary Labour Party. In that period the final answer was given to the question, which had been debated for 40 years. Should organized labour be a non-party pressure group, a machine for securing working class representation of whatever political colour, or a separate party with a programme of its own? The solution achieved owed much to the patience of the I.L.P. pioneers, so often held up to us as the repositories of the purest socialist doctrine. It is salutary and, I find, comforting to be reminded that they were distrusted for their addiction to compromise and expediency. "In fact, like MacDonald, Hardie was not squeamish about the everyday horse-dealings of political life." Indeed the Labour and Liberal leaders might have traded their horses and preserved the Lib-Lab entente, but for the intractability of their local organizations.

The year 1906 is long enough ago for historians to write dispassionately of its events. No one but a political eunuch could write of 1931 without emotion. Mr. Bassett lacks this qualification. So, I hope, do I. I am just old enough to have suffered shattering disillusion at the beginning of my political life. Looking back, it seems we were all wrong. The horrors of protective tariffs and managed currencies appear antediluvian. The Labour Party paid to the full for the facility with which it took over dead Liberal policies with Liberal voters. Mr. Bassett delights in exposing political myths. Here he is determined to send MacDonald to join Baldwin in the political Valhalla, but he is defence counsel hiding in judge's robes. He would have written a better book, if he had had enough confidence to let the evidence speak for itself and had not been continually winking at the jury. At its highest, the case against Henderson and his colleagues is that in their search for Cabinet unity they went in varying degrees too far towards provisional agreement and, after they had drawn back, were too reluctant to admit this essay in "brinkmanship." Mr. Bassett rebuts the suggestion that MacDonald followed a prearranged plan of coalition. Yet there is some important evidence missing. The MacDonald papers have not been published and there is no indication that the author was able to consult them. But the clearest case against him is that after the Cabinet crisis, in spite of all his consultations with the other parties, the Prime Minister made no effort to put his case to the Labour Party Executive or to the Parliamentary Party. When the storm broke he knew where to go for shelter. As Balfour said of Peel: "He smashed his Party, and no man has a right to destroy the property of which he is a trustee."

*The Trades Union Congress, 1868-1921.* By B. C. Roberts. George Allen and Unwin. 35s.

*Labour and Politics, 1900-1906.* By F. Bealey and H. Pelling. Macmillan. 30s.

*Nineteen Thirty-One Political Crisis.* By R. Bassett. Macmillan. 42s.

Compared with her southern neighbour, Scotland is a country of tremendous contrasts. It is not by chance that one chapter in this book deals not only with atmospheric pollution in Glasgow and Bo'ness but also with bottle nosed whales in Loch Eil. Victorian Scotland had areas of intense industrial development and remote Highland communities with their unique way of life. In Glasgow

the bodies of dead children had to be laid out on kitchen dressers out of the way of their brothers and sisters. "In a three-apartment house near Taynult there lived in one apartment five head of cattle, in another two and in the living apartment, a crofter and his sister on one side and a cow on the other."

Though this book is of forbidding size, it is difficult to put down so absorbing are the facts that it has collected. But behind all the detail emerges the heroic and romantic story of how by taking thought man can conquer his environment.

JAMES E. MACCOLL

*Scottish Social Welfare, 1864-1914.* By T. Ferguson. E. and S. Livingstone. 42s.

### ANTI-CORN LAW

This valuable investigation into the origin, organization and activities of the Anti-Corn Law League is based on scholarly research into all the known sources, including the recently rediscovered papers of its second president, George Wilson. In the light of this important new material the author has modified and supplemented earlier accounts of the movement, and certainly the part played by George Wilson has never before been brought out so clearly. The story thus unfolded is as interesting as it is complex, and if the "essentially law-abiding and philanthropic body of its early historians" is seen to require some modification, the "essentially selfish association of manufacturers chiefly concerned to increase their profits by securing a reduction in the cost of labour" disappears under the weight of the evidence brought against this view. The League developed from the Manchester Anti-Corn Law Association, and the account of its early struggles against its own inexperience and against insult, misrepresentation and actual bodily violence cannot but evoke feelings of admiration which exceed the reservations aroused by the author's critical exposition of certain of its propaganda methods. Undeterred by such thrusts as the wounding contempt of Wellington's refusal to receive a deputation—amazingly described on page 47 as "a model of its kind"—or by those physical outrages to which its brave little band of speakers were exposed, the League refused to acknowledge defeat. Learning from its initial mistakes, and under Wilson's brilliant presidency, it became a model of a political organization having a single end in view. No secrets are withheld in the account of the League's inside history, and at times its exploitation of some of the constitutional weapons of war seem open to criticism. But the essential tragedy of all wars, whether between nations or political parties, lies in the nature of the means they inevitably seem to demand.

It is not easy to accept the view that the credit given to the League for the repeal of the Corn Laws stems from legend. It is true that the League was excluded from consultation on the terms of the bill, but could it have been introduced at all, much less carried, if the ground had not been so well prepared for several years? It is also true that Peel was no Leaguer, but it was he, and not the League, who declared in the House of Commons: "The name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures is the name of Richard Cobden."

WINIFRED TAFFS

*The Anti-Corn Law League 1838-1846.* By Norman McCloud. George Allen and Unwin. 25s.

### NOVELS

In *Strangers in the Land*, which is finely translated from the French by Anthony Hinton, Henri Troyat continues his saga of White Russians on the run which he began in *Sackcloth and Ashes*. In a sense M. Troyat's world of Tsarist ex-officers and all sorts in Parisian exile reflects the condition and destiny of all mankind that has here no continuing city. The Chekhovian Danov family is feckless, frustrated and nostalgic; in fact very, very Russian. The



sinister-cum-pathetic Kisiakov, a kind of Russian Svengali, is a grotesque worthy of Dickens and the once-famous writer Malinov is another of those saintly idiots beloved of Russian literature. "Too much weeping over the past," says the old Hussar ex-officer uncle, "makes one unfit to face the future." The younger Danovs learn this lesson the hard way while their elders persist in looking back in despair. M. Troyat, as only a great novelist can, creates a self-sufficient world that is yet related to real life and illumines it at every turn.

It is Thomas Armstrong's misfortune that his epic *A Ring Has No End*, which is about the fall of the House of Kaivanov—period Crimean War to Russian Revolution—appears concurrently with M. Troyat's masterpiece. *A Ring Has No End*, with its emphasis on rape, lust, etc., is an epic in the Hollywood rather than the Homeric sense. The old order changeth, giving place to the blood-stained new, and mean modern man contracts out of the holocaust (he hopes) by jumping on to the reeking band-wagon of the new régime. Recalling recent events in Iraq, one cannot say that Mr. Armstrong's book reflects too distordedly the cynical opportunism abroad in our time. His English, alas, is Wardour Street. His long, lush novel is a would-be *War and Peace* in the style of *Forever Amber*.

Olaf Ruhen's *Naked Under Capricorn* hymns the simple virtues of the Australian Blackfellow and views aghast the ruin brought upon him by the white invader. Davis Marriner, at the start naked and ashamed under Capricorn, finds himself, makes a fortune and is disillusioned by success and by the switch from complaisant black mistress to too-refined white wife. The flaw in Marriner, which Mr. Ruhen seems not to suspect, lies surely in this initial "going native" with a black woman. Human personality is betrayed where a full, human relationship is not possible. Nevertheless this is a passionate and compassionate novel about human beings side by side in different stages of development. Mr. Ruhen must beware only of sentimental escapism.

*Moon of the Tiger* is written by Oswald Wynd with immense competence and informed by expertise—about the Malayan jungle—and a social conscience. The Left-Wingish, unheroic Scottish narrator joins an ill-assorted expedition to find his mistress's anthropologist husband. With him are the mixed-up mistress herself, her extroverted, pukka sahib forest officer admirer—to whom Mr. Wynd is less than fair—and the husband's plucky, horsy sister. Of course they all get on one another's nerves. Mr. Wynd psycho-analyses faithless modern man acutely and with brotherly love. His message would seem to be that, on the whole, we British have lost faith in ourselves.

Barbara Hunt's *Cotton Web* tells of the decline of a Yankee cotton town. Her lovely, ruthless, Irish immigrant heroine who gets what she wants only to find it dust and ashes is a kind of Becky Sharpe *manquée*. Mrs. Hunt has an unerring eye for self-deception but her characters are as black or white as symbolic figures in a Morality and only her saintly mill-owner Barnabas has the stature to be tragic. *Cotton Web* vividly recounts a little-known chapter of American history but it is a minor work beside *The Villa and the Horde* in which Mrs. Hunt recorded, with rare imaginative insight, the death throes of Imperial Rome.

Robin Jenkins, who writes of the Scottish scene, is passionately parochial without being "kail yaird." In his new novel, *The Changeling*, a well-meaning, self-doubting schoolmaster takes a bright, poor boy from a Gorbals-type background on a family holiday. The boy's gang, a brace of moronic delinquents, and his own squalid, pathetic family pursue him like the furies to his uneasy oasis. The Gorbals comes to Dunoon. The dire results have an almost Sophoclean inevitability. In this *cri de coeur* on behalf of the outcast and

rejected of men Mr. Jenkins reveals himself as a Scottish Zola—and, like Zola, he shouts too loud sometimes. Nevertheless he here surpasses the Neil Gunn of *Morning Tide* in his sensitive portrayal of children.

LUKE PARSONS

*Strangers in the Land.* By Henri Troyat. Arco. 18s.  
*A Ring Has No End.* By Thomas Armstrong. Cassell. 16s.  
*Naked Under Capricorn.* By Olaf Ruhen. Macdonald. 15s.  
*Moon of the Tiger.* By Oswald Wynd. Cassell. 15s.  
*Cotton Web.* By Barbara Hunt. Macdonald. 16s.  
*The Changeling.* By Robin Jenkins. Macdonald. 13s. 6d.

### THE MIND OF CHRIST

Dr. Vincent Taylor gave the Speaker's Lectures in Oxford 1951-6 and it was surely his sense of the significance of the times that made him see that the unanswered question which the modern world was putting to the Church was: "Who and What was Jesus Christ?" In his first volume he gave us a most careful and scholarly study of the names which are applied to Christ in the New Testament, and in his second he outlined for us with the same scholarship the historic details of the life and ministry. The unwritten title of both volumes was "How men saw Jesus of Nazareth."

Now, in his third and final volume he seeks to pierce the mystery of how Jesus was related to God; in other words, here he is concerned with the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. To find the answer to his implied question he makes a double approach. First of all, he examines the several documents of the New Testament one by one, using the instruments of a sound and cautious, but not timid, scholarship to discover what each has to say on the theme. Here he has been greatly helped by the Formgeschichte school of New Testament criticism which stresses the importance of the part played by the liturgical worship of the Church in its tradition. He is no uncritical interpreter of the method, but its influence is real all through the book, and to its very great gain.

Following this detailed study, he gives us a historical and theological interpretation of what he has found earlier, not infrequently evaluating the contributions of his predecessors in this field, and as one reads through this section, one has the same sort of excitement as in seeing a sculptor gradually win the shape of the final statue out of amorphous stone. About the meticulous scholarship and its conscientiousness there can be no question, but he has the great gift of making the minutiae of such scholarship contribute to the final picture so that they are no longer the dead words of the specialist but rather the living touches of the artist.

What then are Dr. Taylor's final conclusions? He is sure that there is solid ground and unimpeachable argument for the statement that Jesus was Himself conscious that he was the Son of God. At certain moments it was, as it were, at its peak point; it was clear and unambiguous, but Dr. Taylor can add, anent the final understanding of our Lord's mind, that "the consciousness of sonship is both central and marginal, and at times subconscious. But even when subconscious it is not destroyed."

So the way is open to the final conclusion. The New Testament has nothing like a fully-fledged doctrine of the Holy Trinity. That came not out of inferential logic but out of the liturgical practice of the Church, and behind liturgy always lies the experience of Christian believers. And the testimony of the New Testament is that in Jesus God "emptied Himself." One could wish that Dr. Taylor had had a good deal more to say of the Holy Spirit and had outlined more fully the nature of the Christian experience of Christ as given us, say, in Romans viii: 26 and on; it would have helped the reader to see a little more clearly than the book does that liturgical practice is not quite so subjective a warrant for belief as it appears at first sight.

B. C. PLOWRIGHT

*The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching.* By Vincent Taylor. Macmillan. 21s.

## ESSAYS IN BIOGRAPHY

*Mahatma Gandhi* (George Allen and Unwin. 35s.). B. R. Nanda corrects a tendency to relegate the man, his ascetism and gaiety, with his ideas on religion, morals, politics and economics, to sainthood in the Hindu pantheon. The time is ripe for a new assessment of aims and achievement, and for an Indian to undertake so complex a task. It is too early to know whether Gandhi's dreams will come true, but this volume admirably discovers for us how firmly they were based.

*The Cardinal de Bernis* (Cassell. 25s.). The worldly prelate, French Ambassador to Venice and to Rome, magnificent, literary, urbane, "mixture of kindness, nobleness and simplicity" and perfected in diplomacy, is gracefully presented by Marcus Cheke in a long and finely-illustrated work. The service of God and Mammon, culminating with the murders of Louis XVI and Robespierre, was offered in a world that was passing; Sir Marcus recreates the braggadocio, the cunning, the richness, the squalor, the cruelty and the culture, the perfume and the stench.

*My Own Story* (Odhams. 21s.). Bernard M. Baruch tells it, and shows how a millionaire financier may be doubly blessed in the possession of a father who put money-making far below moral values and usefulness to the community. The son has demonstrated how to combine the three efficiently, but the South Carolina doctor who turned his three acres of land "into a kind of experimental farm" remains the hero of this warm and companionable volume. Not where you came from but where you are going is important, said Father, and at the age of 88 the son promises to trace further the way he has gone from Wall Street to public service in another book.

*A Quaker Business Man* (George Allen and Unwin. 21s.). Another success story is told by Anne Vernon in this life of Joseph Rowntree who died in 1925 when he was 88, having seen his employees grow from 12 to more than 7,000. Paternalism in the marketing of cocoa created the pattern of industrial democracy that had been visualised in the era of "dark Satanic mills." He it was who became revolutionary, accepting the transition from medieval workshop to enormous factory without prejudice, pitting himself against the notion that machinery mattered more than men or the assumption that master had absolute authority over worker, and setting them to work together for a common end.

*A Doctor in Parliament* (Christopher Johnson. 18s.). In another instalment of his autobiography Donald McL. Johnson traverses the three years since he entered the House, and gives a useful survey of its procedures from the vantage point of a Government backbencher. Inevitably, as he says, he is allured by Question Time, and his tenacity and reforming zeal continue to come through undiminished.

*The Young Devils* (Chatto and Windus. 15s.). John Townsend has written a sympathetic-cynical "documentary" of his experiences as a schoolmaster. Secondary Modern has been his battleground, where 3B "nailed teachers' scalps to the blackboard" and where orders were obeyed "as if humouring a person who hasn't long to live." A month at a Secondary Mixed educated him into the preoccupations of girl 15-year-olds. The rest of us, inside the State system or out, have this wryly entertaining book posing a whole lot of questions for the consideration of "next term."

*The Crossing of Antarctica* (Cassell. 30s.) by Vivian Fuchs and Edmund Hillary. The one was leader of the Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition and the other of the New Zealand support party. The chill and the silence, the loneliness and the endurance come through on the soberly written page, and the hundred photographs and maps, many of them blue with the cold or glowing with sunsets, recapture the tension of those days

at the end of 1957 and the New Year when the world watched the lengthening of the thin, dogged line between Scott and Shackleton bases.

*With My Back to the East* (George Allen and Unwin. 21s.). Bernard Llewellyn, familiar to Contemporary readers, visits Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, India, Ceylon, and the Red Sea as he takes the long way home from poverty-stricken Korea. He made no statistical samples and met no important people. "More interested in temples than politics" he says, he noted the splendours and miseries that result from both. The old and the new catch his tolerant eye and he has a ready ear for gossip; all are recorded in this unhackneyed and unobtrusively factual travel book.

*A Room in Moscow* (André Deutsch. 15s.). Sally Belfrage has written an unsombre account of her success as a job-holder in the Russia whose first sputnik was launched on her 21st birthday. Her impressions are fresh and clear, and if she is optimistic, why not? The future belongs to her and the friends she has laughed, worked and talked with in the countries she knows; her intelligence prevents her eyes from depending on rosy spectacles, and she and her contemporaries in the Soviet Union must be given the credit for wanting a better understanding.

*The Sugar Islands* (Cassell. 21s.) is Alec Waugh's collection of pieces written about the West Indies between 1928 and 1953. "The whole point of a travel book is that it should be dated" he says, and he thus lets stand the prophecies and opinions uttered over 30 years of acquaintance with the region. His "background" deals at length with the plantation system and slave trade on which present living is built. His "snapshots" of the islands are in sharp focus, each with separate degrees of light and shade, reminding us that geology as well as history have made the Caribbean as varied as it is beautiful. Most of all to add diversity, there are the West Indians themselves.

*Inner and Outer Circles* (Cohen and West. 18s.). They belong to Nash and his Regent's Park terraces where Katharine West was born to an Edwardian childhood, with the Zoo but a few minutes' walk away, and a father in Walter Leaf, scholar-banker, as loving companion to inculcate respect for all living things. This grand-daughter of John Addington Symonds lacks the single-minded nostalgia for more spacious days that afflicts so much autobiographical looking back. And, for a child with myopic eyes, the portraits she delineates of her numerous relations are sharp and sure in memory.

*Viscount Addison: Leader of the Lords* (Odhams. 25s.). R. J. Minney follows the fortunes of the brilliant young Dr. Christopher Addison who entered Parliament as a Liberal and joined the Labour ranks, who became Minister of Munitions and more appropriately Minister of Health, and who as a reluctant peer found much still to do when the post-war Labour reforms were being hotly contested. Mentally and spiritually he towers, this "champion of truth and most chivalrous person."

*The Sultan* (Cassell. 25s.). The contradictory life and deeds of Abdul Hamid II are explored by Joan Haslip. The book is well illustrated and badly needs an index for future reference to events, fantastic as the skyline of Istanbul, that beset the rule of this monster of Victorian imaginings, this master of intrigue, tyrant terrified of assassination, despot with chronic indigestion, who yet could build and modernize, provide schools and hospitals, and die in his bed almost forgotten in 1918 after the guns of Gallipoli had heralded the arrival of British submarines in the Sea of Marmara.

GRACE BANYARD

# The Liberal News Speaks out for Liberalism

There is nowhere else you can be sure of finding week by week a comprehensive record of the activity of the reviving Liberal Party and a broad platform for all that is most significant in developing Liberal opinion.

**Topical**

**Vigorous**

**Informative**

THE ONLY ORGAN IN THE PRESS  
CONTROLLED BY THE PARTY

Every Friday

Fourpence

## THE FREE TRADER

*The Only Journal in the World  
Devoted to the Free Trade Question*

November Contents include

Bulb Imports; Unilateral and Multilateral;

Lancashire: Problem and Answer

By JOHN JONES and LYNDON H. JONES

Two Great Libertarians

By ELLIOTT DODDS

Justice, Charity and Power

By PROF. GLENN E. HOOVER

Quarterly, 1s. 6d. net

116 VICTORIA ST., LONDON, S.W.1

## DOCUMENT COPYING and REPRODUCTION PROCESSES

H. R. VERRY, FIBP, ARPS

*Chairman, Document copying Group of the  
British Institute of Management*

Surveys in detail ALL the generally used office reproduction methods—from simple carbon copying to microfilming, from hand-duplicators to minor offset and small type-set machines.

315 pages 8½" x 5½"  
Price : 52/6 (post 2/6)

Published by  
**FOUNTAIN PRESS**  
46-47 CHANCERY LANE WC2



## The WORLD TODAY

Chatham  
House  
Review

To be well informed, you need the facts. In The WORLD TODAY experts bring to the general reader up-to-date and reliable information on current world problems. Factual and objective, The WORLD TODAY also focuses on internal political and economic conditions in individual countries, in order to provide a background to events of international significance.

The February issue contains articles on **Sweden's Mineral Wealth**, on **Vietnam Today**, and on the **Soviet Seven-Year Plan**.

*Monthly. 2/6 per copy. 30/- a year (In U.S. and Canada \$4.80)*

*Orders may be sent to booksellers and newsagents or to Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square. London, E.C.4.*

## THE BRITISH SURVEY

is published monthly at 1s 6d for those  
interested in the objective, authoritative treatment  
of International Affairs

*SUBJECTS RECENTLY COVERED INCLUDE:*

Central American Republics  
The Law of the Sea                      Fishing Dispute with Iceland  
The Smaller British Dependencies

Obtainable from:

**THE BRITISH SURVEY**

**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOUSE, 36 CRAVEN STREET  
LONDON, W.C.2**



s. In  
the  
in-  
Fac-  
AY  
eco-  
s, in  
s of

, on

.80)

ford  
C.4.

[

nd

ET

Priority V  
RIDDICAL  
addressed